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biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

No 1-4 Vol 8 — 1985 LB

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Maurice F. Brown Hellman, Autobiography & Memory

Marleen Barr Feminist Criticism, A Woman's Diary, & the Dangers of Separatism

Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. C. W. Eliot & the Decl of American Idealism

Robert Langenfeld Leicester Hemingway & *The Sound of the Trumpet*

Michael M. Kiley T. Paine & Political Science

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Volume 8 Number 1 Winter 1985

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biography

Issued Quarterly
Winter, Spring,
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biography
University of Hawaii Press
2840 Kolowalu Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 USA

Subscriptions for four issues:
Individuals: **$20.00 US**
Institutions: **$24.00 US**

Single issues:
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Published by the University of Hawaii Press for the Biographical Research Center.

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ISSN 0162-4962

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MAURICE F. BROWN

Autobiography and Memory: The Case of Lillian Hellman

Lillian Hellman's autobiographical writing is of interest because it extends the range of the form and explores significant theoretical issues. Hellman presents herself as both human being and writer in process, exposing her methods of recall, probing the multiple meanings of the past, and commenting on her problems as investigator and writer. Her focus has been on the nature of her personal involvement with herself and others, not on her career as dramatist nor on herself as a political person. Hellman's "life-record" is a full one: among her documents are the many detailed notebooks she began keeping when she was fourteen. While she turned to a fully-documented autobiographical format in *Scoundrel Time,* the body of her work presents a quest for the truth of life as experienced—for the poetic and philosophical life. Hellman confronts the tension in her motives in this passage from the Dashiell Hammett chapter of her first volume, *An Unfinished Woman:*

> Thirty years is a long time, I guess, and yet as I come now to write about them the memories skip about and make no pattern and I know only certain of them are to be trusted. I know about that first meeting and the next, and there are many other pictures and sounds, but they are out of order and out of time, and I don't seem to want to put them into place. (I could have done a research job, I have on other people, but I didn't want to do one on Hammett, or to be a bookkeeper of my own life.)
>
> (*Three,* 279)[1]

Hellman is grappling with the issue central to any consideration of biography as a literary form. The historian's instinct and training lead

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him to seek pattern by arranging documents and memories chronologically and evoking meaning with the aid of the discursive reason. But memory is "out of order and out of time." Or rather, it has its own perverse order, its irrational metonymies and opaque symbolisms. The "memory work" is poetic in nature. As such, it bears relation to the dream work as Freud came to understand it. If the dream work sometimes takes the form of disguised wish fulfillment, the memory work should be viewed as a restructuring of the past to sustain and integrate a positive personality structure. Contemporary theoretical work by Erik Erikson in ego psychology suggests the complexity of the memory work, which involves self-creation through a non-rational process of rejection of "negative identity fragments." Erikson writes:

> Identity formation normatively has its dark and negative side, which throughout life can remain an unruly part of the total identity. Every person and every group harbors a *negative identity* as the sum of all those identifications and identity fragments which the individual had to submerge in himself as undesirable or irreconcilable. . . .[2]

Furthermore, disciplined study of poetry, of myth and dream, of legend and folklore, and of subliminal psychological process has provided students of life-writing with insights and analytical tools by which we have gained access to the poetics of memory. We cannot accept mere "memory," even when well-documented, as valid life-history; and the truth revealed by critical probing of memory is more relevant to the structure of human personality and life than a bookkeeper's record, however adequate that might be to the historian.

For such probing in the context of literary criticism, William C. Spengemann has recently provided a promising approach. In *The Forms of Autobiography*[3] he identifies St. Augustine's *Confessions* as a formal paradigm for Western autobiography, distinguishing three modes which are interwoven but given different emphasis in any given text. Drawing upon his paradigm, I shall consider Hellman's quest for her life and its appropriate form as a dialectical process in which life is presented as 1) history of the self (a chronological, developmental record of actions and conscious motivations); 2) philosophy (a process of discovery of the self); and 3) poetry (the presentation of self and its contexts in literary form). Spengemann's modes have a relationship to traditional classifications of autobiography: the memoir tends to take on the historical mode; confession, the philosophical; and apology, the poetic. But Spengemann's approach frees us from these casual nineteenth-century classifications to focus on literary process and style.

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There are strong movements to all three of Spengemann's modes in Hellman's work. *An Unfinished Woman* (1969) opens in historical mode. The work's first half is structured chronologically in terms of life-stages identified by developmental psychology (childhood, latency, adolescence, etc.). Tension between the contrasting heritages of her father's and her mother's families and between New Orleans and New York City provides the context for Hellman's early development, much as it does in the autobiographical models provided by Henry Adams and George Santayana in the early modern period. The later portion of the volume rests heavily on long sections of selected but apparently undoctored diary relating to Hellman's European trips and her involvement in anti-Fascist movements. At the end of the book, three portraits are presented—one of Dorothy Parker (her closest friend), one of Hammett (with whom she lived tumultuously for over thirty years), and one of the two black women of significance in her life. Hellman's second and third autobiographical volumes develop the two sides of her antithetical approaches to autobiography. She treats her personal life in poetic mode in *Pentimento* (1973), and her political life in a relentlessly documented historical mode in *Scoundrel Time* (1977). *Maybe* (1980) is subtitled "a story," but it is an extension of the mode of *Pentimento.* Perhaps Hellman is suggesting that life fragments that do not take palpable form can stand as contemporary fiction but not as authentic life-writing. Here autobiographical materials turn into a fascinating tone-poem, steeped in dream/alcohol/disguise states of semi-awareness with sharp, irrational leaps and turns of motive, character, and event. Hellman presents two metaphors for her autobiographical memory data: 1) memory is a hodgepodge of bundles of ribbons and rags, and 2) life is a puzzle with missing pieces. The narrative is occasionally interrupted by sections in italics, in one of which she writes:

> What I have written is the truth as I saw it, but the truth as I saw it, of course, doesn't have much to do with the truth. It's as if I have fitted parts of a picture puzzle and then a child overturned it and threw out some pieces.[4]

At book's end we are left with six or seven characters, including Hellman, in search of an author. In brief, the sequence of volumes suggests an underlying philosophical concern which increasingly dictates autobiographical form. Hellman's life-writing turned into a quest for her "true" life—a quest which pushed both her historical and poetic commitments to their ragged outer edges.

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Considered in the context of Hellman's entire body of work, much of *An Unfinished Woman* is a frustrated venture in autobiography. Long periods of Hellman's life—1931–35, 1942–44, and 1945–65—are omitted except for a casual reference here and there. Though we can perhaps excuse fragmented and bored treatment of her career, several relationships central to her personal life are practically ignored. Hellman's early affair and her abortion, her life with husband Arthur Kober, her years with Hammett, and her late affair with Carter Cameron are not presented in any detail until *Maybe.* Other significant relationships surface in *Pentimento* and *Scoundrel Time.* Hellman's later volumes move to fill gaps in *An Unfinished Woman*—gaps which required a deeper confrontation with herself and her experience than she previously had wanted to or was able to deal with. There is conscious concealment in that volume, and perhaps throughout her autobiographical writing, which represents an effort to avoid embarrassment of herself and others. And some segments of her life simply do not interest her. But more often, especially in regard to sexual relationships and political activity, Hellman seems to have been unable to arrive at a coherent sense of her actions and motives.

On the public side, mere inclusion of the European diaries in *An Unfinished Woman* suggests the conflict between her deeply personal human involvements and the vagueness of her public, political stance and its implications. The abrupt stylistic shift to direct documentation of life through diary entries seems almost desperate, with an extreme analogue, perhaps, in the later pages of Rousseau's *Confessions.* It took Hellman seven more years to come to terms with the trauma of the McCarthy witch hunt, and she was torn by her sense of the conflicting commitments and perspectives of her multiple audiences for that book. The intensity of Hellman's desire to find the truth about herself is present in the text, and even more in her later displeasure with the way she came to feel *Scoundrel Time* misrepresented her. Commenting on the book in 1979, she wrote:

> I am angrier now than I hope I will ever be again; more disturbed now than when it all took place. I tried to avoid, when I wrote this book, what is called a moral stand. I'd like to take that stand now. I never want to live again to watch people turn into liars and cowards and others into frightened, silent collaborators. And to hell with the fancy reasons they give for what they did. (*Three,* 726)

The issue is larger than that of adequate expression of emotion and moral stance in a work. Much of the fascination of autobiography for

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the literary critic lies in the fact that the style and form of the work are as much a revelation of the "life" of the protagonist as the ostensible content. The problem of "misrepresented" life is in part a stylistic one—Hellman's quest for appropriate style is part of our data for her "life." At the age of sixty Hellman shifted from established dramatist to autobiographer. The considerable skill she had developed in dramatic projection of experience is evident in the power of her life-writing. And she was able to draw on experimentation with the short story form that went back to her twenties. The strengths of these "apprenticeships," together with her strong sense for historical contexts of the action in her dramas, transfer to her work in autobiography. But Hellman had to learn to deal with the problem of presentation of memory in narrative and with the larger philosophical demands of a maturely conceived autobiographical form.

Hellman's early inclination and experience had prepared her to view life as a constantly shifting pattern. Childhood experiences were uprooting, complex, and confusing. Hellman learned to approach life as a mystery which offered her tantalizing clues to dimly-understood human motivations and relationships. At twelve she and Julia (the Julia of her chapter in *Pentimento*) formed a secret espionage society of two and took to following strange characters about the streets of New York, observing their movements and on one occasion alerting a policeman to suspected evil.[5] Dashiell Hammett was the major influence in her later career as dramatist, and we should not forget that Hellman was the model for Nora in his Thin Man series. The stance to life carries over into Hellman's writing methods. Revising—"re-seeing"—became an obsessive gesture in her work in the drama. Her manuscripts for the final book for the original Bernstein-Wilbur-Hellman production of *Candide* include twelve complete and varying versions of it and twenty-five folders of individual scenes.[6] Hellman's need was to find a stylistic correlative to her sense of life that was appropriate to writing her own life. In the effect known as "pentimento" in painting, she located a metaphor for the method appropriate to her vision. She writes:

> Old paint on canvas, as it ages, sometimes becomes transparent. When that happens it is possible, in some pictures, to see the original lines: a tree will show through a woman's dress, a child makes way for a dog, a large boat is no longer on an open sea. That is called pentimento because the painter "repented," changed his mind. Perhaps it would be as well to say that the old conception, replaced by a later choice, is a way of seeing and then seeing again. (*Three*, 309)

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Passage of time affords a means by which an event is placed outside of time—it provides for the medium's shift from opacity to transparency and to multiple vision. Both the earlier and later visions of the painter are present in overlay, revealing a shift not only of style and judgment but also of the data themselves.

Hellman's stylistic solution involves identification of both past and present selves in sensory, emotional, active immediacy. Under psychoanalysis for long periods of time beginning as early as the nineteen-thirties, Hellman was familiar with eliciting otherwise unavailable life data by the use of psychoanalytic methods of recall and interpretation. In her writing conscious analysis and artistry enter the process to develop context through description and narration or, occasionally, to make a brief observation or judgment. Hellman's desire is to strip away defenses and distortions to reveal emotions, values, motivations, traits of character, and quirks of personality basic to the evoked living presence in action and event. She writes in a tradition which looks back through contemporary writers she admired, like Faulkner and Proust, to that master autobiographer, Rousseau. James A. Boon has explored this tradition in *From Symbolism to Structuralism.* He observes that Rousseau, though committed to presenting past as palpable present, adopted a linear chronology which does not catch the diachronic complexity of multiple versions of an event. Marcel Proust developed such complexity. Boon's observation on Proust is applicable to Hellman's mature autobiographical method. Boon writes:

> It is perhaps only with Proust that this full implication of such multiplicity—in his case due to time passing—is captured. For Proust's narrator has experienced a series of interpenetrating orderings each time his 'involuntary memory' was triggered. This enables him to move back and forth between different conceptualized versions of what constituted any particular event. He can conceive of the event as the narrator remembering it, as the narrator thinking of it while living it, as the narrator remembering remembering it during an instance of 'involuntary memory' (etc?).[7]

Hellman's memory flashbacks, triggered by a minor and casual event are sometimes developed, sometimes merely recorded, producing in a reader the effect of living in several time slots at once. Occasionally we are able to intuit Hellman's unexplained metonymic leaps. For example, in the midst of a passage closely focused on her relationship with Julia, she writes:

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> I was pleased that she [Julia] thought I knew the excellence of Toulouse-Lautrec, because I didn't, and had to be told about him by a fellow student who used to buy me hamburgers in order, I think, to tell me about his homosexual experiences. (He was a very decorated hero during the Second World War and was killed a week before it ended.)
> (*Three,* 418–9)

The sentence runs on in the pattern of an uncontrolled memory drift, to be capped by what seems to be a parenthetical chunk of irrelevant, gratuitous information. It "fits," however, when we come to realize that the hero has sprung back to life in Hellman's involuntary memory leap because he is a male analogue of Julia herself. Hellman increasingly exposes her memory processes as part of her creation and re-creation of self in *Pentimento* and *Maybe.* And in those volumes she occasionally speculates on that process in paragraphs she italicizes.

But presentation of the memory process almost always moves to poetic fulfillment in dramatization and dialogue. In scenic presentation, Hellman's mastery of the arts of theatre and film enables her to create autobiography more fully dramatized than almost anything in biography since Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson.* Techniques of camera work, lighting, and film editing are adapted to literary use, and she built on William Faulkner's achievements in such adaptation, which she admired. In addition, we find Hellman's sense of theatre in the significant dramatic gesture, brisk dialogue weighted with implication, the sense of half-glimpsed backgrounds and motives, the invitation to participate in clues leading to the solution of a mystery, and emerging unifying symbols—a fig tree, a suitcase full of family data, a dying snapping turtle, pentimento as recognition of love, and (in *Maybe*) the peculiar odor Hellman's first lover ascribes to her vagina. Hellman's stylistic development in the use of symbol to focus the implication of plot parallels the development in her handling of data, memory, and voice. The fig tree symbol is modernist, heavy with Freudian implication, and used to support a coherent narrative structure. Her turtle is at the center of the chapter in *Pentimento* titled "Turtle" and is not a modernist symbol but what critics of contemporary poetry have identified as "deep image." In *Maybe* an absurdist fragmented plot rests on an undescribable sensory non-image—the odor of the protagonist's vagina.

The portrait, "Helen," in *An Unfinished Woman* signals the method and the mature autobiographical style which was to dominate *Pentimento.* "Helen" begins, "In many places I have spent many days on

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small boats" (*Three,* 249). The generalized scene, unlocated in space or time, shifts as a camera focus might to a descriptive revery, anchored by references to beachcombing in New Orleans and Martha's Vineyard. A concrete and specific catalogue of her findings is given: "periwinkles and mussels, driftwood, shells, horseshoe crabs, gull feathers, the small fry of bass and blues, the remarkable skin of a dead sand shark, the shining life in rockweed."

Hellman's second paragraph places the reader in a time and place, and it turns her opening into the vehicle for an extended metaphor: "One night about six months ago, when I was teaching at Harvard, it occurred to me that these childish, aimless pleasures . . . might have something to do with the digging about that occasionally happens when I am asleep." And she proceeds to develop her metaphor in an extravagant metaphysical conceit: her head becomes the sandy beach from which the pole of her attention catches a card which answers "a long-forgotten problem," now solved as if arranged for her "on a night table." Mind has retrieved a set of scraps from memory "arranged" by the poetic of dream.

Opening paragraph three with "On that night . . .," the narrative camera zooms in on a physical event which clicks in memory networks. The night is stormy. Hellman, disturbed by a noise downstairs, descends and sees a fallen, shattered light fixture at the foot of the stairs. (The mythic motif is introduced naturally and effortlessly.) Involuntary memory flows, presented in a long tumbling sentence which piles up different but now related experiences from time-sets clued by verbs in all the tenses but future and future perfect:

> I thought: Of course, one has been dead three years this month, one has been dead for over thirty, but they were one person to you, these two black women you loved more than you ever loved any other women, Sophronia from childhood, Helen so many years later, and it was all there for you to know two months ago when, poking about the beach, a long distance from the house Helen and I had lived in, I found a mangled watch, wondering where I had seen it, and knew a few hours later that it was the watch I had bought in the Zurich airport and that had disappeared a short time after I gave it to Helen. (*Three,* 250)

Hellman's access to the structure of the memory work is marked by self-directed recognition with the opening phrase, "of course." Her primary audience is herself, the "you" with whom she is engaged in dialogue, but the sentence is filled with data which would have come instantaneously to Hellman. A larger audience of readers is prepared

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to overhear a self-absorbed protagonist discovering something that had escaped her two months earlier in a different setting. A simple shift from second to first person pronoun in the middle of the sentence further suggests the integration that comes in the shock of recognition triggered by the chance event. The paragraph continues, retaining the first person pronoun, but moving to cognitive mode, presented in short declarative sentences. The style is now that of conscious reconstruction of past event and motive:

> The answer now was easy. She [Helen] never walked much because her legs hurt. Sam had brought it down to the beach and she didn't want to tell me that my dog [Sam], who loved her but didn't love me, could have done anything for which he could be blamed. (*Three,* 250)

What has happened? The broken light fixture calls forth the broken crystal of the watch she had found on the beach two months earlier. It was the watch she had bought in Zurich five years earlier for Helen, who had died in 1965. (These dates are not given in Hellman's text.) Helen couldn't have dropped it—the beach was too long a walk for her. Sam must have picked it up and taken it there, and Helen said nothing, out of protective love for the dog. What does Sophronia have to do with it? Helen's silence was exactly what Sophronia's response would have been under similar circumstances fifty years earlier, but the reader doesn't know that yet. In this opening, persons, times and places have coalesced in an instant of unsolicited memory work that Hellman here recreates in a verbal sequence with a stylistic complexity which is unusual to biography, even biography of the self. Furthermore, the relation of the reader to the life is immediate and participatory: we are involved in reconstruction of the events and share in the illumination.

Something more of the brilliance and variety of Hellman's style in "Helen" can be suggested by brief glances at several transitional passages in the chapter. For example, she lays bare the process of her conscious mental work in a passage like this one:

> How often Helen had made me angry, but with Sophronia nothing had ever been bad. . .. But the answer there is easy: Sophronia was the anchor for a little girl, the beloved of a young woman, but by the time I had met the other, years had brought acid to a nature that hadn't begun that way—or is that a lie?—and in any case . . . (*Three,* 251)

Here the reader is involved in the writer's ambivalence, one keyed by verb alternation of past-perfect with present and simple past tenses,

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and by her alertness to possible deception in her image of herself as a child. An outburst of emotion provides a second daring and abrupt transition from Helen to Sophronia: "Oh, Sophronia, it's you I want back always. It's by you I still so often measure, guess, transmute, translate and act" (*Three,* 255). The outcry moves us into two sharply realized incidents involving Sophronia and the child, Lilly, followed by a shift back to Helen gazing at a photograph of Sophronia and young Lilly and finding a protective love there that Hellman herself had not seen in all her fifty years of living with the photograph. From this base (the first half of the chapter), Hellman moves to consider other black/white relationships in her life, presented in narration and dramatic vignettes. The chapter ends with a final reconsideration of the overlap of black and white worlds in American society. At one point she crosses the invisible line between them into a guarded all-black world, and Helen roughly thrusts her back into neutral territory. Hellman intuits and evokes an unknown black world of shadows thrown by her own lighted experience, but she cannot enter or understand it, nor does she try.

I have hoped to suggest something of the complexity of an autobiographical style and form which Hellman casually refers to as "stream-of-consciousness." I do not wish to label it, but that label is surely incorrect. In "Helen" Lillian Hellman finds and presents many overlapping selves in a variety of places and times in relationship with two dead black women, and she enters upon a new and life-giving love and understanding of them, of herself, and of human experience. We begin to see, not merely through a glass darkly, but in a transparency of vision, placed in time but free from its distortions and tyrannies. Hellman turns flotsam and jetsam—scraps on the surface of life or partially buried by tidal ebb and flow—to present possession and wholeness. Hellman's past, with its distinctive shades and passions, comes alive in the present, illuminating present life in a new structure of understanding and emotional balance—a fresh sense of identity. Hellman would not claim transcendence of place and time for her art—her position is too rigorously existential for that. Rather, self is found—or perhaps only a small part of self—for right now in participation by Hellman and her involved readers in the on-going process of making art and thereby making life.

Hellman's work has helped move autobiography as a literary form into our time. Her autobiographical materials have shifted from dates and historical records to memory and its processes. Voice has shifted from objective, if personal, narration to presented and involved wri-

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ter/protagonist, acting, creating, revising, speculating, and questioning. From a frustrated modernist style, Hellman has moved to multilayered pentimento and to baffling tone-poem. As a quest for self and for answerable autobiographical style and form, Hellman's is a significant achievement in contemporary autobiography and a provocative probing of philosophical issues basic to the development of autobiography as a literary form.

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NOTES

1. All citations of Hellman's autobiographical writing will follow this form, giving book title and page numbers in parentheses. References are to *Three* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), a one volume collection of *An Unfinished Woman, Pentimento,* and *Scoundrel Time,* intro. by Richard Poirier, with new commentaries by the author.
2. *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975), p. 20.
3. (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1980), pp. 5–6, 32–3, and passim.
4. *Maybe* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), pp. 51–2.
5. Richard Moody, *Lillian Hellman, Playwright* (New York: Pegasus, 1972), pp. 4–5.
6. Ibid., pp. 270–1.
7. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 154–5.

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Marleen Barr

Deborah Norris Logan, Feminist Criticism, and Identity Theory: Interpreting A Woman's Diary Without The Danger of Separatism

I. Feminist Criticism and Identity Theory

Feminist critics are concentrating upon the noncanonical writing of women—such as diaries and letters—and formulating critical methodologies to interpret these works.[1] Sandra M. Gilbert shares my hope that as scholars strive to create a new feminist criticism, they will not dismiss other theories which are generated by the critical establishment:

> While it is obviously important for women of letters to talk with passion and conviction to and about each other, I think it is just as important for us to talk to—*and be heard by*—our male colleagues. As Annette Kolodny and William Morgan both observed some time ago, the dangers of separatism are real and great. Lately, alas, it has seemed to me that by and large we feminist critics talk only to each other or to a few other literary women who define themselves as potential converts to our creed . . . feminist criticism is and should be a major current in the mainstream of contemporary literary thought.[2]

Since feminist scholars are talking with passion and conviction, and this discussion should not take place in isolation, it is now time to link the objectives of feminist critics with other forms of critical discourse. Norman N. Holland's thoughts about "identity" and "identity theme" can provide such a link.

He discusses his theory in the following passage:

> I needed . . . a way of conceptualizing . . . patterns of change and constancy, sameness and difference. The key term proved to be *identity*—not, however, in Erikson's usage . . . but in Heinz Lichtenstein's. . . .

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> [He] suggests that one can understand this dialectical mingling of sameness and difference as like a musical theme and variations. The sameness is the theme and the differences are the variations played upon it. . . . one can abstract a person's actions, sayings and thoughts into subthemes and themes until one can formulate a centering 'identity theme'. Then one can understand any particular action, such as the writing of a text or its reading as a variation on that theme.[3]

An identity theme, then, is "a way of putting into words someone's characteristic style—the continuity or sameness in a person's actions," while identity is defined as "identity theme plus a personal history of variations played upon it."[4] The following lengthy passage from Holland's *5 Readers Reading* further clarifies his notion of identity theory:

> In recent years, 'identity' has become the most popular word to describe the modern psychoanalytic concept of character, although Erik Erikson's 'ego identity' is more accurate and Heinz Lichtenstein's 'identity theme' still more so. . . . Whatever the term, however, it must convey a constancy that colors every phase of an individual's life. It is what he brings from all his past to all new experiences, and it is extremely difficult—perhaps impossible—to change. Yet, in practice, it can often be expressed quite succinctly. . . . The essence of this view of identity is that we can see one theme or style permeating all aspects of a person's life. In that sense, we have an unchanging self, but nevertheless reality and one's own inner drives demand that the self reach out to new experiences. It then grows by adding these experiences as new variations to its unchanging central theme. An 'identity theme' is determined by past events, yet paradoxically it is the only basis for future growth and, therefore, freedom. It is the foundation for every personal and human synthesis of new experience, be it falling in love or simply reading a book. In understanding the principles within the one we learn something about the other as well, for the separate parts of life cease to be so separate.[5]

Contemporary identity theory, which helps us understand the wholeness of a person's life, its dialectic of constancy and change, is certainly applicable to women's diaries.

By illuminating one particular text—THE DIARY OF DEBORAH NORRIS LOGAN[6]—this essay will exemplify how Holland's ideas can facilitate the interpretation of a woman's diary. Before discussing the diary, however, it is necessary to introduce the diarist.

II. Deborah Norris Logan (1761–1839)

Many of the figures who influenced Pennsylvania's early history were members of Deborah Norris Logan's family. She was the daughter of

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Charles and Mary (Parker) Norris and granddaughter of Isaac Norris, one of the wealthiest men in the colony. Distinguished guests were frequently entertained in the Norris' Quaker household. Logan's background was enriched by her family's physical location as well as its social position. At the age of fourteen she heard the first reading of the Declaration of Independence while standing behind a fence in her own yard. Years later she recalled the scene: "The crowd that assembled at the State House was not great and those among them who joined in the acclamation were not the most sober or reflecting" (Oct. 7, 1817).

Logan did not take full advantage of her days at Anthony Benezet's Friends' Girls' School. However, soon after, she developed an extensive self-imposed reading course which formed the foundation of her literary pursuits. She did not abandon her interest after 1781, the year she married Dr. George Logan, an active Republican politician and finally United States senator.

At Stenton, her husband's ancestral home, Logan enjoyed an exceedingly happy marriage and a life style resembling that of an early American Gertrude Stein. Politicians, artists and historians who were attracted by Philadelphia's position as a chief American city also habitually sought the company of Stenton's charming hostess. Robert Walsh, the accomplished editor of *The National Gazette* and a member of Logan's circle, described her character: "To the expression of our satisfaction with her muse we add the tribute of admiration due to a strength of intellect, a copiousness of knowledge, an habitual dignity of thought and manner, and a natural justness and refinement of sentiment."[7]

Her company was edifying as well as enjoyable. In addition to her own work, Logan provided John F. Watson with invaluable information while he was writing his *Annals of Philadelphia* (1830). And Logan was the first female member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Stenton literally supplied Logan with the material which formed her great service to history. She found heaps of tattered, worm-eaten papers in the attic and recognized them to be the correspondence of Pennsylvania's two great early leaders: William Penn and her husband's grandfather, James Logan. Like the efficient management of her household, she saw the preservation of these letters as her duty. With her usual humility she said, "Not that I consider myself as qualified for such work, but that it has small chance of being performed unless I undertake it" (April 16, 1817). A reluctance to neglect her family responsibilities motivated Logan to rise before dawn to accom-

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plish the time consuming task of deciphering, copying and editing. The eleven quarto manuscript volumes which resulted from her meticulous labor were eventually published in two volumes by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1870–72).

In addition to a zeal for historical preservation, Logan also possessed poetic talent. Several of her poems were published in her friend Walsh's newspaper. Although Logan's poetry was comparable to some of the verse admired in her time, it would not excite a contemporary reader.

Rather, we must look toward her diary as the generator of present day interest. Logan described this four-thousand page seventeen-volume work, which she started in 1815 at the age of fifty-four, and concluded shortly before her death on February 2, 1839, as a record of "whatever I shall hear of fact or anecdote that shall appear worthy of preservation. And many things for my own satisfaction likewise that may be irrelevant to others" (from Logan's introduction to the diary). The text's "worthy" portions include lively anecdotes about such figures as John Adams, Joseph Bonaparte, John C. Calhoun, Benjamin Franklin, Thoman Jefferson, Charles Thomson and George Washington. Happily, the descriptions of these predictably male luminaries do not overshadow the diarist's feminine perspectives. It is the "irrelevant" material which dominates the diary, showing glimpses of Logan's daily thoughts and actions. Her voice has survived for over a century in the dual guise of professional chronicler and private individual.

Another of Logan's contemporaries commented upon her distinctive characteristics: "And I pray you [Dr. Logan] especially to assure Mrs. Logan of my constant and affectionate esteem and attachment the just tribute of the virtues of her heart and head" (July 20, 1816). Many contemporary readers will agree with *Thomas Jefferson.* Those who consult the information she saved must hold her in esteem; those who read the diary will find it difficult to avoid becoming closely attached to her. In these days when we confront new feminine roles, we can derive much from looking back at a woman who adroitly juxtaposed intellect and emotion—a woman who can touch our hearts and heads.

III. The Diary as Key to Deborah Logan's Identity

Logan's identity theme is persistent: she constantly seeks to establish order. Order and all the word implies—control, precision, preservation, neatness, resistance to change—pervade the diary. More pre-

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cisely, Logan's desire to hold on to past persons, her habit of counting the years separating present from past events, her desire to act as a parental figure to others, her collection of historical anecdotes, and her putting persons or herself in situations through analogies, make up a set of actions which can be given mutuality and relevance by a central, unifying theme.

We see more of the diarist's characteristic manner of relating to the world in three broad, descriptive statements of her identity theme:

> Statement: Logan defines her life in terms of the past.
> Explanation: Unlike the uncertain future, the past is a known entity. When seeking past artifacts, Logan pieces together a known puzzle; she preserves events which can be seen clearly from a retrospective stance. She likes the past's definite order.

> Statement: Logan's house is the center of her world.
> Explanation: Logan is the mistress of Stenton's limited, confined environment, the overseer of all that occurs on the estate. The house, then, gives her great opportunity to control her surroundings.

> Statement: Logan creates a massive diary.
> Explanation: The diary allows her to impart stasis to the flow of events. Her record enables events to remain unchanged on the printed page.

All these statements fit Logan's desire to create order. This desire is present in *all* aspects of her behavior:

> I have sometimes (long ago) thought that I should like to have lived on an island insulated from the rest of the world with only good and amiable people who would have lived in friendship and kindness with all of God's creatures (rats and injurious ones excepted) (March 4, 1826).

> I went to see my nephew [Charles] Norris and his wife. They seem at a loss for a name for their place and I believe it is as yet undesignated. But Clearfield or Sunnyside or Eastend or Fairview would any of them answer. I like the idea of a name for everyone's residence (May 3, 1817).

> My readers could not fail to smile if they were to see how I am sitting to write this paragraph in order to accomodate Lodge [her dog] who desires to be petted. He has placed his head in my lap and unwilling to disturb him, I am leaning over it to the board where my book rests. Lodge, this will not do, I must have room (Dec. 2, 1837).

These examples of her identity theme have an endearing quality: a Utopian island of goodness—without rats; a designated name for everyone's residence; and a furry, floppy-eared head accommodated by a leaning, writing figure.

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Now that some evidence of Logan's identity theme has been mentioned, it is useful to momentarily depart from identity theory to try to account for her particular theme's presence. The explanation lies in the familial and historical events surrounding her childhood. Five-year-old Deborah experienced great emotional upheaval when her father died. The mature diarist can exactly recall the sight of her father's deathbed. She also recalls governmental turmoil:

> Then I also see the posterity and comfort of the colonial state; the building of Fairhill and Stenton. The seats under their own vines and fig trees which their prosperous and moderate and happy posterity enjoyed until the domineering and insatiable spirit of the mother country weaned them from their allegiance (and it went hard with some of them to submit to this process). Then arose the imagery of the Revolutionary War, its soul searching themes, it dangers, and its privations. A complete stop was at once put to building and improvements. And after the Revolution had succeeded it was not at once that national prosperity could cause public embellishment to take place (April 23, 1833).

For us, the revolution often becomes a cliché of Yankee doodle dandies, fifes and drums, and a Hessian or two. But what must it have been like for a woman to live through it? How would it feel to pledge allegiance to a different regime—a king or a royal commissioner—next year? Logan came face to face with such sweeping governmental change. England's attitude "weaned" the colonists away from their former comforting allegiance; the nurturing breast from across the sea was abruptly pulled from the infant republic's mouth. Logan lost a political parental presence—a mother country—in addition to her father.

The building of the new country literally took place on the young Logan's doorstep. Signers of the Declaration of Independence passed her Chestnut Street home and often stepped inside before entering Independence Hall. She saw them live, and she saw them die. She might have questioned the value of human life if a figure such as Benjamin Franklin could cease to exist. How affecting it must be to first have an eyewitness view of a nation's birth and then outlive that young nation's titans. She saw Washington carry his country's loyalty on his shoulders and then she saw that he was no more. "Imperious Caesar, dead and turned to clay, Might stop a hole to keep the wind away (*Hamlet*)." Logan's preoccupation with the past enabled her to preserve the comforting presence of her state's and nation's founders. Amidst the background of personal and public change, Logan continually looks back to them and cries out for order, holding on against loss.

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Regarding the diarist's response to her day to day life, I found myself losing patience with one of her most repeated thoughts. Like the successful person who incessantly complains of failure, Logan repeatedly expresses a sense of insecurity. She questions her self-worth: "Is it worthwhile [for artist C. W. Peale] to preserve the remembrance of this little valued and now faded form?" (Oct. 30, 1816). It is hard for her to accept an important fact: regardless of her high standards, she cannot achieve perfection.

Hence, despite her accomplishments, Logan never knew the joy of complete self-satisfaction. She simply would not stop striving for excellence. Even age did not mitigate her extreme behavior. Some invalids automatically and gratefully seek the nearest bed. Not Logan. She first had to pause, contemplate, and justify her situation: "Enfeebled by my age and the warm season I surely may take an invalidship upon myself, especially when the state of lameness from the extreme tenderness of my feet is taken into consideration" (June 15, 1838). Logan coined a new category of life: "invalidship."

Can you imagine what the inside of her home looked like? If Logan were our contemporary, an advertising agency would surely place her in a cleanser commercial; she does in fact shout an equivalent of ring around the parlor. She even cleans her plants and thinks of complaining to a "very dirty littering tree" (Oct. 4, 1819). Throughout periods of revolution and governmental tumults, Logan fought her own war against dirt. Housecleaning, the battle against dirt's disorderly presence, is Logan's "great domestic revolutionary business" (May 2, 1822). She wages war abroad as well as at home: "from this display of vanity and dirt I was eager to escape and would not have any dinner provided. We left the hotel. Dirt, horrid dirt" (August 24, 1815).

Food, glorious food, does not echo the exclamation "dirt, horrid dirt." While listing groceries, she concentrates upon organizing food instead of anticipating its pleasant taste (Sept. 26, 1817). In matters relating to the kitchen, Logan must always be prepared. She constantly applies her sense of precision and order to eating: "I am in the library to be out of the way for several young gentlemen are downstairs with my son. I am waiting for the proper time to send them their coffee" (July 10, 1820). Just like Alexander Portnoy's Jewish mother, our Quaker matron submitted to real or imagined duties, and always insisted that her son have good meals.

If Logan served rather than savored food, exactly what aspects of life did give her pleasure? She explained, "My favorite amusements are gardening, writing, and reading" (Oct. 16, 1815). Logan stressed

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the apparent orderly characteristics of such amusements while presiding over the growth of every leaf in her garden and becoming quite upset when the gardener "injudiciously" trims a favorite tree (April 14, 1821). Biography and travel books formed the bulk of her reading. Hence, strange lives and locations were neatly packaged and conveniently placed within her immediate reach. These books allowed Logan to experience adventures in foreign lands while holding on to the security of home.

Nature was also a great source of pleasure for Logan. The heavens fascinated her. Many times we see her peering at eclipses through pieces of smoked glass. Sunrises, sunsets, planetary paths, recurring comets; the sky is a veritable model of order. Logan appreciates this fact: "The stars seem like my acquaintance. I run to look at the face of the heavens as soon as I am up and can tell the time of night from them almost like a shepherd: (Dec. 29, 1821). Here, she seeks to find persons in larger than human events.

Logan also loved the natural order that can be found on the ground. Stenton might aptly be called a Philadelphia zoo. She wished to exert a protective control over the togetherness she attributed to her pets' lives: "The dear patridges are whistling and calling to each other close to the house. . . . Oh that I could prevent them from ever being disturbed!" (June 9, 1826). If Logan had her way, game birds would never fear rifle shots.

Stenton sheltered stray nieces in addition to stray animals. Logan sometimes had difficulty coping with the rebellious Hepsy Norris' "violent mirth" and "extreme indolence." She wistfully compared the girl to her more docile sister: "She is not like my dear Debby who was very neat and industrious and always decorous in her behavior" (Jan. 7, 1825). Yet, Hepsy's recalcitrance seems a small squall when the hurricane of her cousin Rebecca Smith blows up in the family. Becky turned to Logan after a threat to commit matricide caused her to be barred from her home. Now, one of Stenton's wild animals is of the two legged variety. Although the girl's outbursts mortified Logan, she took the time to use understanding and respect as a means to bring her under control.

Despite Becky's behavior, Logan adhered to her habit of placing people into neat categories when she insisted upon treating this niece as a member of a good family. Her thoughts about her friendship with two sisters, botanist Elizabeth Morris, and Margaretta Morris, who was celebrated for her studies of the Hessian fly and seven-year locust, illustrate this habit: "She [Elizabeth] is a very sensible, well-informed

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young woman and it seems as if I have an hereditary right to these girls, their grandmother Morris having been to me what I suppose I am to them" (May 31, 1824). Here, she puts a parental person in her relationship with these women and views them as a part of an orderly, hereditary progression.

Even though Logan is certain about her feelings for individuals, she continually says that human life is full of uncertainty. Comments like "well—who knows—as leaf by leaf our lives unfold what is coming next?" (Jan. 8, 1832) appear often in the diary. We know when descriptions of her husband's death must come next as her story unfolds before our eyes. We watch as her mourning becomes characterized by togetherness and coincidence: "Every day now reminds me of the melancholy one that corresponded to it last year. . . . And I lay down to rest on the same spot where this night twelve months ago his [Dr. Logan's] wearied and purified spirit had left the body" (April 19, 1822). Immediately after Algernon's death, Logan attempts to hold on to her son when she commissions an artist to reconstruct his visage by using the corpse as a model.

Thus, Logan deeply felt experiences of love and loss. Exactly how did she cope with love, that most unruly of all human emotions? The question is answered as she refers to book learning and control to construct an analogy when reacting to a servant's clandestine affair: "I wish Cupid would move out of the neighborhood and Adonis emigrate to the far west" (April 12, 1835). There is an undertone of seriousness in this rather humorous, blunt statement: the lover can cause disorder in her household. He is a disturbance to be immediately removed to a far, uncivilized locale. Similarly, even in her personal life, Logan held a tight, controlling checkrein on matters of the heart. After George Logan's death, for Deborah Norris Logan, Cupid moved out of the neighborhood in fact.

She, herself, never moved. Stenton remained her "beloved spot," a place which she left at some very short intervals "with regret as it has been the scene of much of my happiness and endeared by many associations" (April 18, 1824). Stenton stands yet. I cannot help thinking that Logan—a woman who noticed that one of the Bank of the United States' railings had been lately removed (March 30, 1827), and took time to "take leave of the dear old house on Chestnut Street" (May 23, 1818) before it was demolished to make room for that bank—would be glad to know that Stenton presently peeks out from Philadelphia's dismal urban sprawl. As Logan's reactions to the bank, Stenton, and her

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childhood home show, she used old buildings as a means of holding on to the past.

Sidney George Fisher's thoughts on Stenton's uniqueness explain his aunt Logan's strong attachment to her home.

> There are not many places in America like Stenton. It has the prestige of time and the associations of one family attached to it, together with some historical recollections of interest. In the impressions it makes on everyone's mind and in the feelings it inspires among the family who own it or are connected with it, may be seen by one who has eyes to see the source of an aristocracy, how it is founded in nature and how it is necessarily connected with the hereditary ownership of land. No other property remains safe through long periods of time, nothing else can visibly connect generations of a family together, the present with the past (August 4, 1860).[8]

Logan, then, had deep feelings for a symbol of familial order. Although she can no longer state personally her sense of continuity and place, the house, in a sense, speaks for her. Modern times have not altered Stenton's ability to connect the present with the past: during a visit to the mansion my inquiry concerning the location of the nearest subway was answered by "Turn left behind the barn." Logan's idea of a proper life style lives on in contemporary Philadelphia.

My personal anecdote exemplifies a situation where the new is described in terms of the old. With her characteristic bluntness, Logan uses another analogy which refers to books to state that newness, or progress, disconcerts her: "From canals, railroads, roads in continuation, and incorporated companies of all kinds I pray to be delivered as removed as far as good old Leatherstockings did from the clearings" (Jan. 21, 1830). But despite her feelings, Logan cannot stop the railroad's encroachment upon her property; she is forced to lose some control over her beloved Stenton. Her opposing voice will not retard the new iron contraption's ability to transform some of her land's quiet order into noisy chaos. Only the written word lets Logan hold on to her past's nontechnological tranquility. The elderly Logan again enters a bygone world when she reads the beginning of her diary.

Logan's desire to record and so preserve events is obsessive. Like a driver checking a highway's evenly spaced mileage markers, she treats every anniversary of birth, death or marriage as a guiding sign marking the progression of her life. The events occurring between these anniversaries are described with a profusion of verbiage. She allows

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nothing to obstruct the flow of her words—not even the fact of reaching the bottom of a volume's last page: she quickly turns the book on its side and writes across the flyleaf. Since this habit allows her to continue recording the day's events, she asks forgiveness for the cramped appearance of such entries. The nooks and crannies of a flyleaf have a limited amount of space. Logan must eventually adjust herself to the change of a brand new book: "Now I feel a sort of shyness and difficulty by no means felt in an old book" (June 7, 1828). New blank pages. An entire year ahead. Uncertainty. Logan sees reaching the conclusion of old years and old diaries as leave takings with known, comforting friends.

Her personalized attitude toward these years is more definite than her conception of the diary's audience. She mentions both writing for herself and writing for the eyes of a future generation, and apologizes for some of her actions to an imagined judgmental reader. With the future in mind, toward the end of her life, Logan obliterated many of the passages containing gossip. Despite this action, the expressive act of recording events was more important to Logan than the effect on her audience.

A new year is begun with resolutions and the new diary once again becomes the epitome of order, control and neatness. As her volumes are never lengthy enough, her pens are always imperfect. After reading her complaints, year after year, about writing implements, one can conclude that no pen in existence would ever be suitable. Then, there is the matter of ink blots. Surely, one can expect to make *some* blots when creating four thousand handwritten pages. Not Logan. She views every ugly mark near her precise penmanship as a "vexation" and unrelentingly insists upon the highest degree of perfection from her writing's content as well as its appearance: "I have been reading over the last page or two and I am sorry and ashamed to see how clumsily I express myself" (Sept. 3, 1827).

Logan also applies her demand for perfection by judging the writing of others. Although she praises John Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* as "unique" and a "good authority," she quickly adds that the book is not without "imperfections." Further, a spelling error in Logan's own printed work strikes her as a flagrant vexation indeed: "Poulson [newspaper editor] has already printed a little anecdote about Charles Thomson. They have mispelled the good old gentleman's name in two places. . . . I am sorry too that I put initials of my own name to the piece" (Sept. 10, 1831). As ever, Logan seeks perfection in an imperfect world.

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Politics, of course, played an important part in Logan's world. When faced with political issues, she looked to her exalted conceptions of past political figures. Andrew Jackson, a man who deviated from tradition, particularly offended her: "There are very uncomfortable reflections in my mind from Jackson's conduct in moving out everybody from office, even offending old revolutionists! No doubt both the President and his knights of the round table have none of that lofty sense of honor and propriety which men in their stations ought to have" (April 10, 1829). Offending old revolutionists!—no wonder Logan holds him in contempt and refers to his cohorts in terms of a sarcastic analogy. She uses strong language to express her distaste for the man, his appointed officials, and his influence upon commercial affairs: "The web of commercial affairs seems to be completely deranged and tangled and confidence and prosperity brought to a stop. . . . The old general at the head of government is tough and his cabinet are rapacious and designing men without true wisdom or honor" (Feb. 4, 1834). She rightly calls the disordered commercial milieu "deranged" and "tangled," and correctly chastises Jackson for contributing to the nation's financial difficulty. However, no matter how Jackson behaved, Logan would still not be satisfied. For her, the founding fathers had the truest wisdom and honor of all.

With this reliance upon identity theory to clearly articulate Deborah Norris Logan's characteristic style in mind, when interpreting women's private genres, feminist critics should not shun other, non-feminist, methodologies. Instead of talking to ourselves, we must look outward and seek to derive insights from the creative use of ideological differences.[9]

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
AND STATE UNIVERSITY

NOTES

Two individuals who were college classmates receive my appreciation for their kind attention to my study of Deborah Norris Logan: Peter Parker, curator of manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, who generously granted me access to the Logan diary, and Norman N. Holland, my teacher and friend, who has had an enormous influence upon my thinking.

1. I am specifically referring to the objectives of the 1980 MLANEH Summer Institute, Women's Non-Traditional Literature, which was held at the University of Alabama.

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2. Sandra M. Gilbert, "Life Studies, or, Speech After Long Silence: Feminist Critics Today," *College English,* 40(1979), 862–63.
3. Norman N. Holland, "A Transactive Account of Transactive Criticism," *Poetics,* 7 (1978), 181–2. Heinz Lichtenstein's collected papers are published in *The Dilemma of Human Identity* (New York, 1977).
4. Norman N. Holland, "Literature and Identity Theory," Literature and Psychology Symposium, Buffalo, 6 May 1979.
5. Norman N. Holland, *5 Readers Reading* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 56, 61.
6. All references to the diary will be followed by the data of entry. See the following for further information about Logan: Gummere, A. M., "Deborah Logan and Her Contributions to History," *Journal of The Friends' Historical Society,* January 1905. Myers, A. C., *Sally Wister's Journal, Poulson's American Daily Advertiser,* Feb. 4, 1839. Tolles, F. B., *George Logan of Philadelphia,* 1953. Wister, S.B., and Irwin, A., *Worthy Women of Our First Century,* 1877. The bulk of Logan's published and unpublished material is located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Examples of her poetry are scattered throughout the diary.
7. Isaac Norris, "Deborah Logan," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* IX (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1870), s.v.
8. Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., *The Diary of Sidney George Fisher* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 357.
9. A conference, The Creative Use of Difference, was held at SUNY Buffalo's Center for the Psychological Study of the Arts on March 7–8, 1980.

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JENNINGS L. WAGONER, JR.

Charles W. Eliot, Immigrants, and the Decline of American Idealism

When in 1908 Charles William Eliot announced his forthcoming retirement after having served as president of Harvard University during forty years of dramatic change in higher education, numerous influential Americans sought to pay him homage with generous testimonials. Typical of the expressions of appreciation and sentiment was that given by Princeton's president, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson acknowledged the deep impression Eliot had made upon the educational system of the country, praised his "gifts of leadership," and applauded his "power to conceive and execute large plans" that had made him "the most conspicuous and influential figure of the last forty years in American education." Equally significant, however, was Wilson's assessment of Eliot as citizen:

> He has . . . shown a public spirit and a sense of duty in all matters affecting the life of the country at large which have made him the leading private citizen of the republic. His counsel has been felt in the affairs of a generation, and always felt in the interest of right action and wholesome sentiment.[1]

To say with Wilson that Eliot was an influential spokesman on social as well as educational affairs for a generation should not blind us to the fact that Eliot's thought was conditioned by nearly three generations of American history. When he died in 1926 at the age of ninety-two, the United States was vastly different from the young nation into which he had been born in 1834. In many instances Eliot had found it

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necessary to alter certain of his views as corporate America came of age. Nonetheless his basic values and ideals remained firmly anchored in the Brahmin culture in which he had been nurtured. Always, it was important to Eliot that he be counted, as Wilson had done, on the side of "right action and wholesome sentiment."

Eliot's stubborn adherence to Brahmin idealism coupled with his ability to accommodate his views to changing social climates take on special importance when examined in the context of the "new immigrant problem" at the turn of the century. His conviction that the United States should maintain its historic commitment to an open-door immigration policy became a minority view as nativism increased in the early decades of this century. At the same time, cultural realities caused Eliot to modify his long-standing faith in assimilation and to adopt a posture that celebrated racial and ethnic pluralism. Eliot's rejection of proposals advocating immigration restriction and his reassessment of the Brahmin faith in the "melting pot" ideology are instructive not only in terms of his interpretations of right action and wholesome sentiment, but also in terms of the "liberal retreat" from idealism advocated by many of his contemporaries.

Brahmin Idealism and America's Open Door

Charles Eliot early learned and long remembered the views of William Ellery Channing and Ralph Waldo Emerson regarding the divinity of man, the dignity of man, and the unlimited potential of man. Eliot internalized deeply the Brahmin code of values which held that each man is due respect for his individuality and that all men share a common humanity. Born into an age impressed with the doctrines of progress and human perfectibility and growing up in a culture which prized individual liberty, Eliot came easily to the Brahmin view that social problems—be they illiteracy, intemperance, or involuntary servitude—were only temporary trials, problems which reason, informed by social conscience and reformist commitment, would in time overcome. The clash of armies in civil war only heightened the conviction of many New Englanders, Brahmins in particular, that this was indeed a nation chosen by God for a special mission and that they, the descendents of the Puritan settlers, were destined once again to enforce His will. Although family obligations prevented Eliot from enlisting in the Union Army, his faith in the justness and ultimate triumph of the cause never wavered.[2]

The confidence and idealism that energized the Brahmins' abolitionist spirit and that sustained them during the war years character-

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ized as well their initial attitude toward immigration. Although often paternalistic and sometimes amused by the habits and customs of foreigners in their midst, Brahmins in the first half of the nineteenth century typically welcomed immigrants. Not only were the foreign born seen as useful additions to the laboring population, but their arrival was also justified by repeated reference to the twin ideals of Christian brotherhood and the doctrine of equal rights.[3] Theodore Parker had urged that nineteenth century America be "the Asylum of Humanity for this century as for the seventeenth."[4] To Emerson as well this continent was to be an "asylum of all nations," a "smelting-pot" in which a "new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature" would be created.[5] If perhaps other Brahmins were less enthusiastic about melting into a new race, the majority nonetheless maintained that immigrants could be assimilated to "American" ways and thus looked with scorn upon nativist agitation in the 1840s and 1850s.

Decline of Liberalism

In post-war America, however, Brahmin assurance in the beneficence of an open-door immigration policy and faith in the workings of political democracy began to wane. As the rising tide of immigration paralleled the growth of crowded urban tenements, increasing pauperism, deteriorating sanitary conditions, labor unrest, and political corruption, many Brahmins began to fear that their tidy universe was being destroyed. Within the precincts of Boston itself, awareness of a declining birth-rate among the Brahmin class, contrasted with the burgeoning growth of Irish population, struck special fear in the hearts of Brahmins. When in 1884 an Irish Catholic, Hugh O'Brien, was elected mayor of Boston, many proper Bostonians ruefully acknowledged that neither their city nor the nation was any longer dependent upon their rule. The trials and failures voiced by Henry Adams portray the bewilderment and disillusionment felt by an increasing number of Brahmins who sensed their world slipping away.[6] Brahmins, who saw themselves as descendents of a chosen people, natural leaders and reformers, now faced the fact that their leadership was undervalued, unappreciated, and unwanted. Increasingly they felt trapped in their external relations between the "half-taught plutocracy" of American capitalists and the "ignorant proletariat" of the foreign-born. As Barbara Solomon has noted, "As Brahmins ceased to be the undisputed arbiters of the public good, they became less confident of the Americanization of newcomers."[7] Although by the 1880s only a small minority considered immigration restriction as at least a partial solu-

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tion, the way was being prepared for a wholesale abandonment of the faith of their forefathers.

However cautiously and with whatever feeling of betrayal of older ideals, by the 1890s more and more Brahmins began to conclude that unrestricted immigration was posing a serious threat to the institutions and ideals of the United States. Historical and scientific studies from the 1880s through the 1920s popularized the idea that all that was distinctively good about America resulted not from the contributions and blending of varied stocks, but rather was rooted in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon people and institutions. It was but a small step for many then to conclude that the social, political, and economic disorder in the country was due largely to the influx of peoples who would not or could not conform to established Anglo-American ways. "New immigrants," those from Southern and Eastern Europe, were especially judged as too unlike the dominant Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon stock to be assimilated. The concept that there existed racial attributes which were incapable of modification by environmental change thus entered the academic and popular mind as a final damnation of the earlier optimistic assumptions of the assimilationists.[8]

When the 1890 census revealed that five and one quarter million newcomers had entered the country during the previous decade, it seemed evident to many that the extinction of "real Americans" was a possibility. In the face of these fears, older arguments that justified immigration on humanitarian and democratic grounds, or that set forth economic justifications, or even that rested on the assumption that the new arrivals would be absorbed into the Anglo-American mold—all lost their appeal. By the 1890's, many academicians as well as an increasing segment of the general population became convinced that further immigration could only destroy the American way of life. It only remained for a handful of young Harvard graduates to form, in 1894, the Immigration Restriction League of Boston. From this period forward, agitation for immigration restriction increased in tempo and temper until in the 1920's a new chapter in American history was written with the passage of a series of federal laws restricting immigration by the adoption of quotas.

Not only did laws curtailing the flow of foreign-born into the United states reveal a changed national policy toward immigration, but Brahmin endorsement of and leadership in that movement underscored as well the ideological distance that separated the descendents of elite Bostonians from the ideals and confidence of their forefathers. Those few who, like Charles Eliot, still championed the free flow of

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immigration found themselves increasingly in a minority. In a very real sense, they, as well as the immigrants whose rights they were advocating, had become "strangers in the land."

Eliot's Faith in Assimilation

Charles Eliot was certainly not unaware or unconcerned about the demographic changes occurring in New England and elsewhere in the nation. On the occasion of a speaking tour in the South in 1909, Eliot began an address before the young ladies of the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College at Greensboro by remarking:

> . . . It is a great delight to look into the faces of such a company as this. . . . It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to get such a sight as this either in the North or West of our country. The reason is that these young women whom I see before me are all, or nearly all, pure American stock, and that is a spectacle I repeat which is almost impossible to get in any other part of our country. I need not say that to a man whose first ancestor to this country landed in 1660 the spectacle is singularly agreeable.[9]

It was clearly a point of pride with Eliot to be able to trace his descent from the respected Lymans and Eliots of Boston. No less than other Brahmins, Eliot valued "good families" and accepted in a spirit of *noblesse oblige* the responsibilities befitting one of proper social standing. It is thus understandable that Eliot, devoted as he was to Brahmin lineage and traditions, felt some anxiety over the shift of ethnic and political balance in his native Boston. In addressing the Cambridge Historical Society during the celebration of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the city, Eliot gave voice to the community's shared concerns. "The Puritans no longer control Cambridge," he acknowledged; "the suffrage is no longer limited to members of the Puritan church. Many races are mixed in our resident population." But, while admitting to such changes, Eliot urged his listeners to face with faith, not fear, the outcome of the continuing American experiment:

> But let us look forward with good courage and with the hope and expectation that the same ideals which led the Pilgrims and Puritans across the sea, the same ideals to which the people of this Commonwealth have held for two hundred and seventy years, will still guide the people of Massachusetts, mixed or conglomerate as they may become. They look back to various pasts, but may they look forward to one and the same future of public freedom, justice, and happiness.[10]

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Thus, during the period when others who shared his lineage and traditions sought the protection of closed gates, Eliot consistently championed unrestricted immigration with the confidence of Brahmins of an earlier generation.

Prior to the opening of the twentieth century, Eliot's support of an open-door immigration policy rested largely upon his culturally inherited and somewhat ill-defined faith in the process of assimilation. Thus, when in 1892 the editor of a popular magazine solicited his views regarding immigration restriction, Eliot judged the proposal "peculiarly ungenerous and ungrateful" and reminded the editor that present occupants of the United States were themselves "descendents from immigrants within very recent times." Reflective of his assimilationist precepts, Eliot reasoned further:

> Even those Americans who are fond of boasting that they are descended from English stock, are merely claiming descent from a mixed people made up of Danes, Norwegians, Dutch, Germans, Normans, and Saxons—a veritable ethnological conglomerate very like that which is now forming on a larger scale in the United States.[11]

Even in 1892, however, Eliot had some misgivings about just how far assimilation could go toward blending an ethnologically mixed population into one people. While contending that "all the European races seem to me capable of complete assimilation under the influence of free schools, free churches, equal laws, and democratic social mobility," he confessed that "the real difficulty concerning immigration relates to races which cannot be assimilated—like the African, Chinese, and Japanese."[12] Eliot's faith in cultural assimilation was clearly subject to racial considerations.

Bothered as he was by those "races" he felt unassimilable, Eliot as late as 1900 was still invoking the conglomerate ideal against those who would curtail immigration. "I do not think that any effort should be made to keep what is called the American stock free from foreign admixture," he advised one correspondent. "That stock is itself a result of an extraordinary mixture of various ingredients."[13] At this period Eliot held that it was undesirable that ethnic groups in the United States should make conscious efforts to preserve their native languages and their separate churches, schools, and clubs.[14] Although he persistently advocated religious toleration and opposed any attempt to limit individual freedoms, he preferred to let the process of assimilation gradually take its toll on newcomers. "For some time . . . birds of

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a feather will flock together," he noted in 1900, "but the feathers change as a common environment gradually produces its effects."[15]

Toward Cultural Pluralism

It would have been strange, however, had Eliot been totally unaffected by the outpouring of "scientific" as well as popular views regarding the persistence of "racial" characteristics. Thus, increasingly after 1900, Eliot's remarks on assimilation began to take on a different flavor. Sometimes confusing inherited traits with acquired traits, he still held steadfast to his belief that the political, economic and educational energies of the nation would bring about a "gradual diminution of differences" among the "races."[16] At the same time, he began speaking more forcefully about the distinctive characteristics of "racial" or ethnic groups, and, in sharp contrast to Brahmins and others who recoiled when faced with the spectre of unmeltable ethnics, Eliot began setting forth arguments extolling the positive benefits of an emerging concept of racial and cultural pluralism.

On more than one occasion Eliot's advocacy of racial purity threw him deep into controversy. On the same Southern tour during which he expressed pleasure upon seeing the Carolina ladies of "pure American stock," he also gave his assent to the region's anti-miscegenation laws and asserted furthermore that not even the white "races" should intermarry. Eliot proclaimed that "the Irish should not intermarry with the American of English descent; that the Germans should not marry the Italians; that the Jews should not marry the French. Each race should maintain its own individuality."[17] While many Southerners were eager to receive Northern endorsement of their racial separation policies, even they expressed doubts regarding Eliot's blanket condemnation of intermarriage among white Europeans, stocks which, as a Charleston paper put it, differed only "in minor degree."[18]

In a similar manner, Eliot some years later warned the Harvard Zionist Society against the perils of racial amalgamation. It was "lamentable," Eliot said, that more Jews and Christians were marrying. He reasoned that "if two nations were kindred, have similar origins, the members of those nations, races, can inter-marry in safety." Jews, however, were seen by Eliot as singularly without kindred races. Advocating cultural as well as racial purity, Eliot encouraged Jews to stick with their customs and confessed that he was saddened to see young Jews falling away from the rituals and traditions of their fathers.[19] Eliot's

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remarks on this occasion evoked a great deal of discussion within the Jewish community as to whether Jews were basically a religious or a racial group.[20] Of more immediate consequence for Eliot, however, was local Irish reaction to Eliot's contention in this same speech that the Irish had not become assimilated in the United States. In attempting to explain the failure and the undesirability of the melting pot ideal, Eliot had remarked that:

> . . . Assimilation or amalgamation is simply non-existent in the United States and nobody sees, or very few people see that it is non-existent. You may see a very strong instance of it in the immigration of the Irish to this country which began back in the 1830s and went on for many generations. Have they ever been assimilated anywhere? Never, and it has never been desirable, and it isn't now desirable that they should be assimilated in the United States or amalgamated, taken in and absorbed within the British American population.[21]

Whether not comprehending or plainly not in sympathy with Eliot's endorsement of cultural pluralism, the Boston Knights of Columbus claimed Eliot's assertion that the Irish were unassimilated was an insult to many loyal and respected citizens. Once again Eliot found himself in the position of attempting to clarify his posture. In a letter to the Editor of the Boston *Post,* Eliot explained that the Irish had indeed become good citizens while at the same time "maintaining and illustrating their Celtic qualities." Eliot noted further:

> I hope that the Irish race and all the other white races that have come to this country in large numbers since the adoption of the American Constitution will maintain their distinctive racial qualities and gifts, and give the entire population the benefit of them. One may cherish this hope with much confidence; because there has never been a "melting pot" in the United States, and there is not likely to be any in the future.[22]

Eliot's insistence in the last two decades of his life that each race should preserve "through many generations its own bodily and mental advantages and historical characteristics" can perhaps too quickly be judged "racist" in a negative sense. There is certainly no doubt that his own racial pride encouraged his advocacy of racial pluralism. At the same time, Eliot typically emphasized the positive characteristics of all ethnic and racial groups in the United States.[23] Throughout his administration Harvard University maintained a rigid policy of religious toleration and received students without the least regard to their

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racial qualities or religious or political opinions. Moreover, when during A. Lawrence Lowell's administration, moves were made to ban black students from freshmen dormitories and to place a quota on the number of Jewish students, Eliot publicly criticized both schemes.[24] While not impressed with the idea that political equals need share anything in common socially, Eliot continuously maintained that no group should be denied civil rights on the basis of race or religion.

All this being said, and in spite of Eliot's occasional disclaimers to the contrary, it is difficult to conclude that he seriously expected cultural pluralism to work both ways. Eliot believed, as did most of his contemporaries, that the fundamental ideals of the United States had already been cast in a permanent mold. When Eliot looked forward to the future with confidence, it was because his faith rested in America's past. American institutions—political, economic, religious, and educational—had to his satisfaction adequately proved their potency as galvanizing agents.

Education and the American Dream

From his commanding position as a leading educational statesman of the period, Eliot enthusiastically placed upon the schools a heavy share of the burden of protecting and advancing the American dream. To those native Americans whose faith was wavering, Eliot gave assurance that, as in the past, American schools would respond to the challenges presented by the foreign born. Typical of his faith in the power of the school as a custodian of the American cultural and political heritage were his remarks in a 1906 address:

> Sometimes we are afraid of what we call foreigners. We were all foreigners a little while ago and we have been educated into our present modes of thought by the schools and colleges and churches of our country. And we may have perfect faith that the results will be the same for every nationality, of whatever religion, that comes in here with an eager desire for education. Consider what we ourselves have seen in regard to the power of education toward assimilating new masses of foreign population. . . . Boston and Cambridge can hardly have any city governments that are not dominated by Catholics. There has been a superintendent of public instruction in Boston, a Roman Catholic and an Irishman, and a very good superintendent. We must not be discouraged by this process of education in our country. We must not fear of the result. . . . We must hold fast to the zeal of good schools, good colleges, good universities, which has characterized our people for so many gener-

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ations and which will bring the future generations, changed though they may be, to a safe issue.

I cannot express to you gentlemen, the firmness, the solidity of my belief in the freeing power of education in our country—in the safety to which we may look forward if only we cling firmly to the educational policies which have brought us to our present condition. . . .[25]

If the schools could be counted upon to preserve and protect the American system, so too could they provide a ladder of upward mobility for the deserving. In addressing a mixed audience of "new Americans" in Boston's "North End" in 1902, Eliot traced his ancestral beginnings from the same section of the city and credited the fact that he had had the advantages of a Harvard education to his family's long-standing faith in education. To Eliot, there was no irony in proclaiming to his listeners that "every boy in this room who has the wit can do the same thing."[26] Eliot firmly believed that a cornerstone of American democracy was the provision of access into any career for one who had talent. He consistently fought Charles Francis Adams and others who fretted over the entry into Harvard of too many sons from families of clearly modest means. In the same way, Eliot opposed labor union policies that he felt penalized the industrious by invoking uniform production schedules and forced strikes. Eliot may have been out of step with the changing nature of American society when he advised immigrant parents to believe in the American dream and "invest every dollar you can spare"[27] into the education of their children, but he was constantly in step with his own conviction that properly functioning republican institutions should "obliterate hereditary distinctions, level artificial barriers, and make society mobile."[28]

In our own times, characterized as they are by skepticism of the political process, unequitable tax structures, economic dominance by corporate elites, seemingly stagnant class structures and persistent racial tensions, the admonishments of Charles Eliot may ring a bit hollow and anachronistic. Eliot was perhaps, as Henry May has observed, "a ghost of the eighteen-seventies," a representative of the "age of innocence."[29] Yet, if Eliot is to be faulted for not totally losing his innocence, his Brahmin idealism, his faith in political democracy and public education, perhaps we should ourselves reflect upon some lines he wrote to his cousin a few years before his death: "I should like to be saved from the loss of faith in democracy as I grow old and foolish. I should be very sorry to wind up as the three Adamses did. I shall not, unless I lose my mind'"[30] It must be judged an uncomfortable commentary on our own times that Eliot's naive democratic faith seems so

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distant, so removed from the realities of a nation grown older and more sophisticated—or maybe as he phrased it, just more foolish.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

NOTES

1. Woodrow Wilson as quoted in the Boston *Transcript,* November 4, 1908 (clipping, unnumbered box, Charles W. Eliot Papers, Harvard University Archives, (hereafter cited as Eliot Papers). Permission to quote from the Eliot Papers granted by the Harvard University Archives.
2. Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot.* (New York, 1972), p. 30.
3. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925.* (New York, 1973), p. 20, *et passim.*
4. Theodore Parker, quoted in Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition.* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 6. Solomon's study has been most instructive as background preparation for this essay.
5. Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted in Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin.* (New York, 1964), p. 117.
6. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams.* (New York: 1918). See also Stow Persons, *The Decline of American Gentility.* (New York: 1973).
7. Solomon, p. 57, *et passim.*
8. See *ibid.,* esp. Chap. VIII; see also Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Garden City, New York, 1957), Chaps. IV–VI.
9. Charles W. Eliot, "Address at the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College, March 24, 1909," TS, (Eliot Papers, Box 340).
10. Charles W. Eliot, "Address at the Celebration of the 275th Anniversary of the Founding of Cambridge, December 21, 1905," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society.* I (1905), p. 2.
11. Charles W. Eliot to *The Home Journal,* November 21, 1892 (Eliot Papers, Letterbook 91).
12. *Ibid.*
13. Charles W. Eliot to William T. Forbes, April 10, 1900 (Eliot Papers, Letterbook 92).
14. On Eliot's opposition to parochial schools, see Solomon, p. 185.
15. Eliot to Forbes.
16. Hawkins, p. 183. Cf. Charles W. Eliot, "The Potency of the Jewish Race," *The Menorah Journal,* I (June, 1915), pp. 141–144.
17. Charles W. Eliot, as quoted in the Indianapolis *News,* March 11, 1909 (clipping, Eliot Papers, unnumbered box). Other news reports varied slightly in wording.
18. *News and Courier,* Charleston, S. C., March 10, 1909 (clipping, Eliot Papers, unnumbered box). For a more detailed view of Eliot's specific attitudes toward blacks, see Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., "The American Compromise: Charles W. Eliot, Black Education, and the New South," in Ronald Goodenow and Arthur

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White, eds., *Education and the Rise of the New South.* (Boston: 1981), pp. 26–46.

19. Charles W. Eliot, "A Plea for Jewish Integrity," Address to the Harvard Zionist Society, December 12, 1924, reprinted in the *Jewish Tribune and Hebrew Standard,* December 19, 1924, pp. 1–8.
20. See, for example, "Survival or Suicide?," *The Jewish Tribune and Hebrew Standard,* February 18, 1925, p. 1.
21. Eliot, "A Plea for Jewish Integrity."
22. Charles W. Eliot, "Letter to the Editor," Boston *Post,* December 23, 1924 (Eliot Papers, Box 348-A).
23. Eliot felt "undesirable qualities" exemplified by various groups could be attributed to unfavorable historical experiences and thus could in this more favorable environment be eradicated. See, for example, his essay on "Zionism," in Charles W. Eliot, *A Late Harvest* (Boston, 1924), pp. 253–260.
24. See Hawkins, p. 193; Cf. Seymour Martin Lipset and David Riesman, *Education and Politics at Harvard* (New York: 1975), pp. 142–44.
25. Charles W. Eliot, "American Education," Address at Newton Club Dinner, January 20, 1906, reprinted in The Newton *Graphic,* January 26, 1906, pp. 9–11.
26. Charles W. Eliot, "New Americans," Address at North Bennett Street Industrial School, Boston, December 13, 1902, reprinted in *The Harvard Bulletin,* December 17, 1902.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Charles W. Eliot, "Wise and Unwise Economy in Schools," *Atlantic Monthly,* XXXV (June, 1875), p. 719.
29. Henry May, *The End of American Innocence.* (Chicago, 1964), p. 36.
30. As quoted by Solomon, p. 176.

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Robert Langenfeld

Autobiography and Biography: Leicester Hemingway's *The Sound of the Trumpet*

Much has been written about Ernest Hemingway's life, and reminiscences are plentiful: A. E. Hotchner's *Papa Hemingway* (1955), Lloyd R. Arnold's *Hemingway: High on the Wild* (1968), James McLendon's *Papa: Hemingway in Key West* (1972), Verno (Jake) Klimo and Will Ousler's *Hemingway and Jake: An Extraordinary Friendship* (1972), Josë Luis Castillo-Puche's *Hemingway in Spain: A Personal Reminiscence* (1974), Gregory Hemingway's *Papa: A Personal Memoir* (1976), Mary Hemingway's *How It Was* (1976), and Robert E. Gajdusek's *Hemingway's Paris* (1978). Of late, however, some critics want to avoid emphasizing Hemingway's life. Instead it is argued, quite understandably, that the time has come to turn to his art and agree to "declare a moratorium on nostalgia: on the Hemingway-Callaghan fight, the Dôme café, Duff Twysden, on all that public parade."[1] Nonetheless, the dictates of recent and current critical approaches are often set aside, for, as A. Robert Lee says, "Despite all the psychobiography and guesswork, Hemingway—one is tempted to say thankfully—still hasn't been comprehensively explained, however much his fiction time and again has been pressed to do duty in confirming his supposed emotional fissures and fears of inadequacy."[2] While it seems unlikely that any writer much less Hemingway will be "comprehensively explained," information that adds to what is known about him, particularly from the viewpoint of his only brother, merits consideration. The public and critical reactions to Carlos Baker's 1981 edition of Hemingway's selected letters certainly evidences continued interest in the life of the man. And the letters, biographies and reminiscences can be complemented in a unique way.

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To my knowledge, no one has closely examined Leicester Hemingway's *The Sound of the Trumpet,* whose central character, Danforth Granham, is based on Leicester himself; Danforth's older brother, the famous Rando Granham, is a thinly disguised portrayal of Ernest Hemingway. The book is an autobiographical novel. It reveals a few years in the lives of Leicester and Ernest. Still, at times genres dovetail together. In places, for example, *The Sound of the Trumpet* is like the "anecdote," the main narrative straying to a single event, told as if it is interesting in itself because the scene reveals striking details in the characters of Leicester and Ernest, but especially Ernest.[3] On other occasions, we discover passages of "table talk," where the conversations of famous men, such as Hemingway and Simone de Beauvior, are disclosed. In another sense, *The Sound of the Trumpet* is akin to what Winslow terms the "ad hoc autobiography," which describes an author's keen desire to exploit his involvement in an important historical situation. Leicester seems motivated by his involvement in World War II with his famous brother and perhaps desires to exploit some temporary notoriety and thus fight for a recognition of his own individuality. The book is of interest, though, not so much for what it divulges about Leicester Hemingway but Ernest Hemingway, and, for students of biography, how autobiography offers Leicester a degree of freedom not available to him in his biography of Ernest, *My Brother.*

Aspects of Ernest's life and character are in some instances confirmed, embellished, or qualified when Leicester's autobiographical novel is compared to fact as documented in Baker's *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story.* New light is shed on Dr. Clarence "Ed" Hemingway's suicide, an admittedly important event in Ernest's life—and of course Leicester's—which receives relatively slight treatment in Baker's scholarly biography. Moreover, the relationship between the two brothers, particularly the tone of its character, differs from the reserved, proper rendition in Leicester's well-known nonfiction account, *My Brother.* On the first page of that book Leicester says, "In presenting Ernest's conversations, I have been mindful of the obligations of a brother, a friend, and a biographer." He is indeed tactful throughout and demonstrates a respect for his brother that at times verges on hagiography: "Ernest was one of those rare human beings who was truly original." And according to Leicester, almost everyone realized it: "Never before has an author been given such news coverage following his death. The entire world was realizing with a sense of shock that the loss of this man would be felt by all mankind."[4] There

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are less effusive passages that discuss Ernest's tempestuous side and his querulous moments, but Leicester is most understanding, if not predictably sympathetic. Certainly there are few similarities between *My Brother* and *The Sound of the Trumpet;* not only are they different in genre but in content. The central focus in *My Brother* is Ernest, of course, and Leicester basically approaches his life chronologically, although in no way could he be thorough in such a short book. There is little said about Ernest's years as a war correspondent—which he dwells on in *The Sound of the Trumpet*—and the death of Dr. Hemingway is only briefly alluded to, while *The Sound of the Trumpet* elaborates on the events the day before the suicide as well as its aftermath. In *The Sound of the Trumpet,* though, the understanding and sympathy evident in *My Brother* is often qualified. He does not seem obliged to place Ernest's actions in a favorable light. This relationship has received little attention, especially for what it may tell us about Ernest. In Baker's biography, Leicester is referred to only in passing; in the letters the same is true. Leicester's autobiographical perspective gives him opportunities to say what he perhaps could not or would not say in another forum. What emerges from the comparison of autobiography and biography is Leicester's view of the many-faceted character of Ernest and a portrayal of their relationship. Much is confirmed but much is revealed too.

The Sound of the Trumpet is a little-known work published in 1953. It is the story of a photographer-correspondent's experiences during his coverage of the Normandy invasion and afterwards. The photographer eventually joins the infantry and sees action, recounting the simple story of men at war and the horrors they suffer. When the book appeared, the critics were not generous, to say the least. Herbert Mitgang of the *New York Times* had some praise for the accuracy and vividness of the soldiers' dialogue, but he rightly criticized the inept story-line. In fact, Mitgang said Leicester did not have "much of a story to tell here. . . . [It] goes everywhere and really doesn't get anywhere."[5] A critic from *Time* magazine was more caustic: "What Leicester Hemingway chiefly demonstrates is the importance of being Ernest."[6] *Newsweek* was more judicious but basically agreed with Mitgang: "The novel is entertaining, sometimes chilling, rambling, and haphazard, with a rudimentary plot that tends to get lost." The same critic did observe, however, two keen similarities: between Danforth and Leicester, between Rando and Ernest. In both characters, Leicester was "not too worried about separating fact from fiction."[7]

The book deservedly received no lengthy critical assessment; it was

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reviewed in a limited number of popular publications. It is flawed. Characters lack both subtle nuance and depth. There is an idealized love affair, for example, between Danforth and a Red Cross nurse, Francesca, which is replete with commonplace generalities and banalities; it readily pales against the similar love affair in *A Farewell to Arms.* The plot moves in a desultory fashion, tenuously directed to lead Danforth to an understanding of the terrors of war, not an unusual theme to be sure. The genesis of the aimless plot, nevertheless, can be explained. The novel was first a series of short stories with a central figure, a character analogous to Nick Adams. Leicester wanted to shape the stories into a novel; he gave them to brother Ernest, who read them and said there was much good in them. Yet he admonished Leicester to leave them as short stories, for any attempt at unification would prove labored. Ernest's literary advice was correct. Leicester's chances for success would have been better served if the book had been published in its original form. As Leicester admitted, it was most difficult to follow in the footsteps of a famous brother, to try and "follow him off the high-dive," as he put it.[8] Still, a number of the vignettes in the novel are good; they offer a forthright, at times grisly, picture of modern warfare, its wicked cruelties and intolerable waste. Military authority, whether vested in military police or generals, is rendered in an ignominious light: vanity, hypocrisy, and self-interest rule. But the only real curiosity the novel holds for present-day readers is what it tells us about Ernest Hemingway and his brother.

Early in 1944 Ernest voyaged to London as the war was drawing to a close. After a sojourn in London, he headquartered in Paris at his familiar haunt, the Ritz Hotel, Room 31.[9] There he set up court, basked in the attention of authors and correspondents, and continued to romance Mary Welsh. Interestingly enough, in *The Sound of the Trumpet* Danforth Granham, whose photography duties for the army have brought him to Paris, takes occasion to visit his brother, Rando Granham, a famous author who is a war correspondent at the time. Rando is staying at the Ritz Hotel. Danforth and a friend are invited to dinner: "Rando and two other correspondents had found a smaller hotel near the Etoile that had a real food reserve, and had swiftly become friends with the manager . . . who produced a turkey dinner that night while most restaurants, if open at all, were serving eggplant."[10] Unfortunately, because the table is too small for Rando's sizable group, his "kid brother" and friend must sit at another table: "The only candles were on the big table. They heard the laughter and watched the people they both knew well, but in the dark and at the

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side they were neither seen nor heard. The food became dull and the wine had no effect" (p. 86). It is a picture of the typical Hemingway soirée set in newly liberated Paris. Young Danforth is relegated to the shadows; he does not participate nor does he enjoy the gay company of his brother and the famous people who feast in the warm candlelight. It is a theme that is repeated: the younger brother is always in the shadow of his renowned older brother.

Danforth's discomforting experience at dinner is mitigated a few days later when he joins brother Rando and another correspondent, Johnny (who writes features for *Stars & Stripes*), as they journey by horse and carriage to view a bicycle race near the Eiffel Tower. They tell stories, laugh, drink, and drink some more. Both Johnny and Danforth marvel at Rando's uncanny ability to pick out sundry details of the bicycle race which elude their powers of observation: " 'I don't know how you do it,' Johnny said. He was plainly incredulous. Dan was baffled, and yet, he told himself, he is the best damned observer anybody alive ever met" (p. 100). Ernest, of course, invariably took pride in his considerable powers of observation, his ability to quickly analyze minute details and know whatever he was viewing or trying to understand better than most people. As Baker says,

> With all his friends and acquaintances he prided himself as a teacher, the experienced insider who knew many if not all the answers and was eager to transmit them: how to win at roulette or horse racing or poker; how to get from Paris to Montreux, from Chicago to Horton Bay, from New York to Nairobi; how to make a Bloody Mary, outbox an adversary, outfox a customs officer. *Semper paratus* might have been his motto.[11]

Danforth expands on his attributes, saying Rando was not only knowledgeable and the best observer but "probably the best hunter, too. He remembered how it had been, down in Arkansas when they had hunted quail after their father died. He was a true bafflement, then, he thought, putting every one of us, the dogs and wind to shame. But there isn't much luck in the world. He has the stuff" (p. 100). Rando has skill and knowledge, not just luck. Ernest and Leicester, of course, hunted together, and it is interesting to remember that both did travel to Arkansas, near Piggott, where Pauline's relatives lived, to hunt quail after Dr. Hemingway's death. Ernest seemed to sense the birds "dusting" more quickly than the dogs, too.[12]

At one point in *The Sound of the Trumpet* Rando is ill. During his Paris stay, in fact, Ernest was sick; he had a "severe cold in the head and chest" which was treated with sulfa. For a time he was bedridden,

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though he "held court for a variety of visitors, including Jean-Paul Sartre . . . [and] Simone de Beauvior." Although he would claim to be " 'healthy as hell,' " he admitted he had often " 'coughed the toilet at the Ritz full of blood.' " Leicester, Baker reports, "dropped in and recalled the pallor on his face beneath the ragged beard, and the way he staggered back to the bed after one of these bouts of retching, holding onto the furniture for support."[13] A similar scene is recounted by Danforth, for a few days after the bicycle race he goes to the Ritz to visit Rando, who is continually expectorating "something red." Danforth asks if he can do anything to help. " 'Not a thing, kid,' " says Rando. " 'Just keep cheerful and come to see me. Some damned doctor is coming to check my chest. It's nothing a little rest won't cure.' He coughed again and spat more blood." Rando insists on working and even hopes to venture to the warfront, which prompts Danforth to quip, " 'Good old Rando the ruthless' " (p. 118).

After the doctor administers to Rando, he is curious but pleased that the doctor " 'wouldn't take any pay. Said he had too much admiration. I gave him some *pâté de fois gras* someone brought me the day before. He was pleased.' " (p. 134). Danforth responds by saying, " 'You're a well-known character. Everybody either admires or hates the guts of a character, depending on how wound up they are personally.' 'Maybe you've got something,' " replies Rando, as he laughs and spits blood. Danforth calls him " 'Good old Rando. The indestructible Granhamstein' " (p. 134). One of Ernest's nicknames was Hemingstein, and Baker amply documents the fact that on numerous occasions throughout his life Ernest endured injury or illness but attempted to continue his daily routine. He often did seem indestructible, from his wounds in World War I to the well-publicized air crash in Africa, after which he read the mistaken obituaries in the press with enthusiastic delight.

The idea of a routine even in the midst of illness is important to Rando, as it would be to Ernest Hemingway. Danforth thinks how "it felt good to be of some use. He knew his brother liked to hear the routine sounds, and that having someone around had value even though it didn't seem important to outsiders. There were always outsiders as well as people who belonged" (p. 134). One "insider" giving comfort to another, something beyond the pale of the "outsider's" understanding, is part of the philosophy of Ernest's code hero. The insider tries to survive the vicissitudes of life by adhering to a set of principles when under stress, to act with "grace under pressure." What Danforth says of Rando might be said of the Old Waiter in "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place," or of Frazer in "The Gambler, The Nun, and the Radio," as

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well as other characters who people Ernest Hemingway's literary world. As Baker says, the discipline to follow a routine of action was all-important to Ernest: "In one of his 'poems,' written in 1928, he says that 'the searchers for order will find that there is a certain discipline in the acceptance of experience.' The practical empiricist speaks here. Certain of his attitudes gradually solidified into a code of conduct by which he chose to live. Others gradually altered beneath the repeated hammer blows of experience."[14] In *The Sound of the Trumpet* Rando and Danforth try to emulate the code of conduct so familiar in Ernest's fiction, and in Leicester's fiction they both follow the code well.

When it came to action and the war itself, Ernest was, in his own peculiar way, quite happy at the front. He recounted to Mary his march from "Rambouillet to the Ritz."[15] And as Baker points out, "even potentially lethal moments could be endured with laughter," as if to mock impending danger. On one occasion near the front Germans who had remained in a bunker for two days "came out shooting." A Captain Mitchell was "killed at once. Hemingway moved in fast with his tommy-gun. . . . The attack was soon repulsed and the surviving Germans were taken prisoner. . . ."[16] Rando sees action in *The Sound of the Trumpet.* Danforth journeys to the warfront to see Rando and his army friends; they have just occupied the house of a priest who sympathizes with the Nazis. Danforth enters the house to find Rando "all bundled up in sweaters, and pacing around the room." He offers Danforth a drink:

> "Try this. This is a priest's house, and he has all kinds of wine in the basement. I'd give you brandy, but it's all gone for the moment. Something to do with the Chief of Staff." They raised their glasses and drank. It was good wine and warming.
>
> "You're looking good maestro. How do you feel?"
>
> "Sound as ever, Dano. These medics have been feeding me sulfa. . . . See those bottles?" he waved at some long-necked green Moselle wine bottles. "I'm saving some specimens and if there's enough time they can be checked. Otherwise they'll be recorked and placed in the priest's cellar. Let him do some checking himself."
>
> "Good old Stein. Diabolical." (p. 143)

This same scene is reported by Baker, although there is no mention of Leicester being present. Hemingway and some friends were stationed near Rodenbourg in the house of "a priest who was said is have collaborated with the Germans." A "regimental doctor dosed Ernest heavily with sulfa pills and ordered him to stay quiet. . . . Ernest rummaged

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around until he found a store of sacramental wine. He took almost maniacal delight in drinking the contents and then carefully urinating the bottles full again." According to Baker he also took the time to label the bottles "Schloss Hemingstein, 1944."[17] In *The Sound of the Trumpet,* Rando's escapades are not always rendered by Danforth in an appreciative tone. Rando is sometimes viewed with a subtle disdain; the picture that emerges is that of a man driven—"ruthless" (p. 118), "vindictive" (p. 168) and "diabolical" (p. 143) are words often used—to chastise others with jejune pranks, at times without any clear motivation to do so.

Hemingway's game-playing is also evident in his intense dislike for psychiatrists: he reveled in cozening them. As Baker says, his sincere scorn for "head doctors" was revealed in "his maltreatment of a divisional psychiatrist named Maskin":

> One night the doctor invited himself into Ernest's billet and began to ask his probing, subtle, questions. Ernest put on a sober face, saying that he needed Maskin's advice. He was troubled about his cats at Finca Vigia. He had twenty or thirty and kept getting more. "The little bastard was fascinated," said Ernest. "His eyes were bugging out." Many people like cats, said the doctor. That was no problem. "With me it is," said Hemingway. "My problem is that I can't seem to stop having intercourse with them."[18]

Leicester recasts this story in *The Sound of the Trumpet.* Rando tells Danforth there are a "few things you ought to know." He warns him about "that psychiatrist at Division":

> "He maybe knows his stuff, and maybe not, but it's a hard thing to judge, never having joined the order. But I know that son of a bitch is always prying. That's a sign he's unsure of himself, and then some. He kept trying to study me, and you know how anybody in his right mind loves that. Asked me one time what my dreams were. I told him I dreamed I was mucking rattlesnakes. Big ones and little ones. That had him." (p. 167)

There are differences between Rando's version of his session with the Division psychiatrist and Ernest's as related by Baker but the similarities are dominant. Here again the autobiographical fiction of Leicester parallels the biography, the life, of his brother.

In the same conversation, Rando cautions Danforth about his girl, Francesca, the Red Cross nurse. The passage reveals Danforth's most pointed comments on his brother. Rando claims that his girl " 'won't be true to you,' " and cruelly mentions " 'congenital syphillis because

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of the bone structure of the nose.' " Danforth attempts to analyze Rando's motives:

> Christ, he thought, he's just bitter personally. But why would he say it at all unless he thought it was important? He knows what morale is. . . . What could she have done? I've seen him the great admirer of other people, but when they did something he didn't approve of, he'd turn vindictive. More than that. Malevolent. Like trying to destroy a dream that had turned out badly, acting as though such people no longer existed. You've seen it with other wives and with old friends who saved his bacon in other wars. How can you figure it though? Maybe he's the high priest of a new religion whose motto is "Muck'em all." Well, the high priest is always holier than anybody. . . . Don't be bitter, he told himself. You know there's nobody more loyal than Rando—to Rando. Why should you escape your turn, if you've seen him give it to others? Being in the same family is no protection. You're just a handier target. But it's a pure baffler, coming now and this way." (p. 168)

Danforth's critical reactions to Rando's suggestions about Francesca's character go well beyond the attack on the girl. And indeed Baker testifies to what is often noted about Ernest. His temper and grudges were not limited to those who criticized his writing, although they certainly felt the heat of his wrath:

> His nonliterary grudges sometimes congealed into rejections of people he had formerly loved: his mother for her alleged disloyalty because she had sent him insulting remarks about *The Sun Also Rises,* his older sister because she had scolded him for leaving his first wife, his youngest sister because she had married against his wishes. Praise of his writings always pleased him; perjorative judgments kindled his wrath. His frequent threats to thrash members of the opposition, though seldom carried out, contain the hints of the incipient bully.[19]

It seems obvious at times Leicester fell pray to Ernest's outbursts, though Baker does not find occasion to mention it in the letters or the biography.

This episode in *The Sound of the Trumpet* illustrates the advantage of what can be termed the "autobiographical perspective."[20] Leicester must negotiate between the world in which he usually participates and that which he is trying to understand. A certain distance the autobiographical perspective affords the novelist aids in a clearer understanding, at least a recognition, of what he has become accustomed to. In Leicester's case, he distances himself enough to see one of his brother's harsher moments, which he has obviously seen before, in a

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light that does not idealize or justify Ernest's actions. He sees it in relation to others who have suffered similar outbursts and surmises that Ernest's motivation to castigate others for what appears to him as disloyalty—in this particular case Francesca's—is tied to his own self-glorification, his own self-bestowed right to always be a correct judge of character. Leicester still cannot reason why such an episode would occur at that specific time, though, when the need for solid morale is so keen. Such a frank revelation is one outcome of the autobiographical perspective. Nowhere in *My Brother* does Leicester make such a forthright, pointed statement about Ernest, for there he is, to use his words, "mindful of the obligations of a brother, a friend, and a biographer."

Many other details indicate that Rando is a portrayal of Ernest. Rando, for example, "walked with a slight limp. It was from his luck in the other war. He had been banged around plenty in that one," and walking through "mushy snow, in cold boots" at the front makes the old injury more noticeable (p. 145). Ernest's severe leg wound in World War I continued to cause him problems in later years. Danforth on occasion reminisces about the times he and Rando spent in Michigan during their youth. He also describes Rando's "fleece-lined jacket," how Rando "looked as big as a live grizzly bear" in it (p. 144). Baker mentions the jacket as well, and on Plate 84 in the biography there is a picture of Ernest in what seems to be a fleece-lined jacket, looking large and formidable, like a grizzly bear.

One of the more interesting segments of *The Sound of the Trumpet* is a flash back to the suicide of Dr. Hemingway. Leicester, then a boy of thirteen, heard the shot. There are some details of the dreadful event in both *My Brother* and *A Life Story.* In the novel, however, Danforth gives a lengthy account of the day that led to his father's suicide, the suicide and its aftermath. Danforth goes back to that time; he is a young boy "sick in bed with a wicked cold." His father comes in and looks out the window at the "grey-cold" of the early winter rain; he sounds "gloomy" and worries whether the "hedges are enough to keep the rain off the birds this fall." Late in the afternoon young Danforth and his father clean guns. They talk about "the places they had hunted, and the good days, when the peasants had been thick out by the river and when they had hunted quail for a week straight the year before down in southern Illinois. . . ." (pp. 179–81).

After supper Danforth falls asleep, only to awake with "a strange feeling and he didn't know what it was." He hears "sobbing" downstairs and cautiously creeps out of bed to investigate. The crying

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comes from behind the leaded-glass dining room doors with the broken pane:

> There on the couch, in the half-light of the dark, wood-paneled living room, his father sat hunched over, crying softly and saying, "I don't see the use, Mae. I can't go on, I don't see the use . . ." and the sound of it from a big man, from his father, from the man he had seen operate at the hospital and who had taught him about killing, and about animals making love and as much as he knew about people, was a scaring, horrible thing. (p. 182)

Danforth feels he should "run in and tell him everything was going to be all right," but he does not, fearing he may "hurt his father's self-respect, and that was the most important thing anyone had, and they both knew that clearly" (p. 182).

He sleeps badly that night, "with strange dreams." In the morning, however, he feels better; he hears "his father stirring the furnace, with the house all quiet." He dozes to awake as the maid ascends the back stairs. As he thinks how good if feels not to be in school, he hears "the loud WHAMP that seemed to come from the other end of the house." He runs to his parents' room, knocks on the door, and pushes it open:

> . . . there on the bed lay his father, making hoarse breathing noises. His eyes were closed, and in that first instant as he saw him there in the half-dark, nothing looked wrong. He put his hand under his father's head. His hand slipped under easily and when he brought it out again, it was wet-warm with blood.

Great confusion ensues. People enter the room. Soon there are policemen in the still dark room. His "mother's cries blurred [sic] out what Uncle Fungo was saying, and his words only came through between her breaths. All Dan heard was, '. . . and say nothing of the loan he asked for . . .' " The suicide scene ends with a diatribe against Uncle Fungo: "He wasn't a friend. He even told me to stop praying for him [father]. He with his harsh voice and his Cadillac, and his real estate money, and her with this house and her money. They always had their money to wave over him" (p. 183–84).

This chilling account corroborates and embellishes key facts which surround Dr. Hemingway's suicide. Baker says that Father Hemingway "burned some personal papers in the furnace, climbed the stairs from the basement to his second-floor bedroom and quietly closed the door. His son, Leicester, a boy of thirteen in bed with a cold, heard an astonishing sound: the single, sharp report of a gun in the

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silence of the house." Dr. Hemingway shot himself "behind the right ear" with a Wesson .32 revolver. When Ernest discovered the details of his father's death, he "muttered darkly against Uncle George, whom he blamed for having paid insufficient attention to the doctor's financial plight."[21]

The Sound of the Trumpet's version of the suicide appears to be a composite of both Leicester's and Ernest's reactions to the event, though it expands considerably on not only what Baker in *A Life Story* has to say but what Leicester says about his father's suicide in *My Brother.* He devotes only a paragraph to the incident itself, spending several pages on the aftermath—Ernest's arrival, his command of the situation, and the funeral itself. He does emphasize that his father had "signed a note with a relative" who was adamant about its payment. Certainly the novel offers us more detailed knowledge of this important event in the lives of the Hemingways. Greater focus still is placed on his father's low morale because he had contracted diabetes and failed, as doctors will do, to have it treated by another physician. It should be remembered that Leicester believed his brother took his own life because "he felt his own body had betrayed him." He had suffered from diabetes mellitus, lost a lot of weight (down to 155 pounds), and was depressed about the deaths of his friends Gary Cooper and George Vanderbilt.[22] All this business about suicide and Leicester's account in *The Sound of the Trumpet* takes on an even more macabre sense when we recall that Leicester—who in recent years had grown a beard and "looked the spitting image of his brother"—committed suicide, a head wound, with a handgun in November of 1982 at the age of 67. He suffered from diabetes and had been depressed after undergoing five operations in the last month of his life.[23] The facts are striking: two generations of Hemingways, three cases of depression and diabetes, three suicides—father and sons.

This autobiographical novel does in places embellish what we know about Ernest Hemingway's life. Its main interest for Hemingway scholars is the depiction of the little discussed relationship between Ernest and Leicester, the insights gained by comparing autobiography and biography. Clearly there were trying moments for the younger Hemingway; the autobiographical perspective affords a more incisive evaluation of the motivation behind the outbursts from the tempestuous side of Ernest than is usually seen in scholarly biographies or reminiscences. Certainly the irrepressible character of Ernest is evident in Rando; all the other figures in the book fade considerably when set

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beside the dominating presence of Rando, including the main character, Danforth. Perhaps it was just so in life. Leicester, like Danforth at dinner in Paris, remained in the shadows at a distance from his older brother. He did not partake of the feast at the crowded table of literary fame. We nevertheless sense a fundamental respect for Ernest, though at times it may be a begrudging respect. The obvious differences between them, however, do not lessen a mutual affection that pervades Leicester's rendition of their relationship. The character of Rando, too, confirms much that is known about Ernest. The famous writer in *The Sound of the Trumpet* is many-faceted and parodoxical. He is alternately the prankster, the bully, the charming cosmopolitan, the keen observer of life, the man who tries to live by a code, the adventurer, the spirited old warrior at war, perhaps attempting to relive a glorious and brave part of his youth. On occasion we see the darker side of the man as well. In addition to the portrayal of Ernest from his brother's viewpoint, the book enhances our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding Father Hemmingway's death. To return to that sad account of his suicide as seen through the eyes of a son of thirteen, to think that Ernest had read it, Leicester had known the event first-hand, and then consider the similar deaths of both brothers gives one pause to wonder in horror and perverse fascination.

Autobiography and biography are not mingled with great skill in *The Sound of the Trumpet.* The autobiographical perspective offers Leicester the authorial distance and thus the confidence to say things he could not say elsewhere; there is, moreover, the ever-present consideration that he would be free from legal impropriety. Indeed, his confidence was such that he published the novel in 1953, a year after the publication of the highly successful *The Old Man and the Sea* and a year before Ernest's Nobel Prize. Even though the real life bases for the novel are not well concealed, Leicester did make some superficial changes, which brings us to a final irony in *The Sound of the Trumpet.* Danforth asks Rando if he can someday write about his experience in the war and use the people he has met:

> "Sure, use the whole war. Just make it like it was. Make it so real they'll know it. You can always change the names, and if you write it, put one of those things in the front about all the characters and material being purely coincidental, and let them try to sue." (p. 167)

At the bottom of the copyright page in *The Sound of the Trumpet* appears "one of those things":

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The characters in this book are the product of the author's imagination; and any resemblance to actual persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental.

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

NOTES

1. Michael S. Reynolds, *Hemingway's Reading, 1910–1940. An Inventory* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), p. 28.
2. A. Robert Lee, "Introduction," *Ernest Hemingway: New Critical Essays* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983), p. 9.
3. My terminology is based on Donald J. Winslow's "Glossary of Terms in Life Writing," *Biography,* 1:1 (1978), 61–85; 1:2 (1978), 76–81.
4. Leicester Hemingway, *My Brother, Ernest Hemingway* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1962), pp, 12–13.
5. Herbert Mitgang, "The Unhappy Warrior," *New York Times Review,* 1 November 1953, pp. 4, 33.
6. "Another Hemingway," *Time,* 62 (2 November 1953), 114.
7. "Brother's Book," *Newsweek,* 42 (9 November 1953), 93.
8. This information comes from two extended conversations with Leicester Hemingway in Miami, Florida, in July 1975.
9. Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 421.
10. Leicester Hemingway, *The Sound of the Trumpet* (New York: Henry Holt, 1953), p. 86. All further references to the novel will be made from this text and noted parenthetically.
11. Carlos Baker (ed), *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters 1917–1961* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), p. xix.
12. *My Brother,* pp. 109–14.
13. Baker, p. 439.
14. *Letters,* p. xix.
15. Baker, p. 418.
16. Baker, p. 436.
17. Baker, pp. 439–40.
18. Baker, p. 435.
19. *Letters,* p. xvi.
20. See Janet Varner Gunn, *Autobiography: Toward a Poetics of Experience* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 55–89. Gunn says specifically that the autobiographer must negotiate between "self and the world, since the dialectic between participation and distantiation, or discovery and creation, is always in danger of being collapsed toward one side or another: on the one side is the tendency toward idealism. . . . on the other side is the tendency toward empiricism and the problem of the self's 'habituation' by the world" (p. 59).
21. Baker, p. 199.
22. *My Brother,* pp. 98–100; 255–56.
23. *New York Times,* November 1982.

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MICHAEL M. KILEY

Thomas Paine: American Founder and Political Scientist

In 1925, Thomas A. Edison urged readers to "consider 'Common Sense', and Paine's planning of this great American Republic, of which he may very justly be termed the real founder."[1] Thomas Paine was, indeed, a founder of America and an early political scientist. Acrimony has prevented credit on both accounts[2]—an acrimony which began with defamation by a Pitt Ministry officer, Richard Chalmers, who wrote *The Life of Thomas Paine* (1791) under the pseudonym Francis Oldys.[3] During the preceding period, that of the Revolution and Confederation, Paine was regarded in America as a founder.[4] Today, Paine seems not to fit the aristocratic pattern of the Founding Fathers, yet he does satisfy the objective criteria. An atypical founder, Paine contributed as an English immigrant. He had been nurtured in pub debate, yet was a lobbyist before Parliament. He was a craftsman, a minister and a town officer. He was a visionary *and* a scientist. He gave pratical ideas, a political philosophy, and personal dedication.

Not only was Paine a founder, he was a prescient seventeenth century political scientist. He was an early empirical student of the technique of government. Science pervaded his life. He was an inventor who built and patented an iron bridge. His fine sense of experimental inquiry served a wide curiosity about natural phenomena. And the same practical urges dominated his politics. Paine applied basic quantitative measures to questions of economics, finance, welfare; he understood elementary game theory in legislative voting; and he foresaw the use and importance of public opinion sampling. He understood the importance of demographics in connection with democracy

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in expanding nation-states. He warned, however, of the weakness of his contemporaries' ruling conception of checks and balances, a frail analogy from physics, by pointing to the use of the civil list by George III. The Society for Political Inquiries in Philadelphia, of which Paine was a member and writer of the Charter, was probably America's first political science association.

I. Paine's Life

Paine was born January 29, 1737 in Thetford, England. This was his boyhood home, and here he was an apprentice to his father's craft of staymaker or corsetmaker. He left the distasteful craft[5] and sat for examinations for the excise service in Lewes, Sussex. There he was appointed exciseman, and he also held office as a member of the Jury or Committee of Twelve. An early marriage ended with the death of his wife, possibly in childbirth. He remarried, less as a romantic union than to help the family of his recently deceased landlord. The couple separated on good terms before Paine came to the colonies.

Paine enjoyed ice skating and attended scientific lectures in London, but he especially enjoyed pub debates at Lewes's White Hart Inn. He often won the weekly prize, an old Homer. The excise officers asked Paine to petition Parliament for higher wages, so in 1772 he wrote *The Case of the Officers of Excise* and lobbied members of Parliament in London without success. There he met and impressed Benjamin Franklin and Oliver Goldsmith. While he was away the family tobacconist business failed, and Paine was dismissed for absence from his excise post. He left England for the colonies in October, 1774, carrying a letter of introduction from Franklin to Richard Bach of Philadelphia, Franklin's son-in-law.

Soon after arriving Paine was appointed editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* by Robert Aitkin. The Battle of Lexington in April, 1775, convinced Paine reconciliation was impossible, so he wrote *Common Sense* during the fall of 1775. Publication took until January, 1776, and Paine's half of the proceeds he donated to a fund for army clothing.[6] All of the several million inhabitants of the colonies probably read it or heard it read, 120,000 Copies having sold in three months.[7]

Paine joined the Pennsylvania Associators as a volunteer soldier and became aide-de-camp to General George Washington. Between the retreat into New Jersey December, 1776, and the month of December, 1783, Paine wrote the series of sixteen articles for colonial newspapers called "The American Crisis".[8] As the war proceeded he served, in turn, in the posts of Secretary to the 1777 Indian Commission, Secre-

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tary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, and Clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

Paine was a principal contributor of innovative ideas during the Confederation period, and argued as well for a new and stronger central government at the close of the war. During this period he wrote *Dissertations: On Government; the Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money* (1784)—his most noteworthy work during this time. He also wrote *Public Good* (1780), the "Newfoundland Fisheries" letters (1780) and "Rhode Island" letters (1782). The Society for Political Inquiries was founded in Philadelphia in 1787 with a charter written by Paine. Meetings were held in Franklin's library. Paine left for France soon thereafter, following several years of engineering and experimentation, for approval from the Academy of Sciences of the iron bridge design. He expected to be gone only several months.[9]

The next five years were divided between London and Paris. Paine attended to family business in England, met with reformers like Fox and others like Burke, and constructed a model bridge 110 feet in length. In France Paine received the key to the Bastille from Lafayette for Washington; founded the Republican Club with Condorcet; and published the "Republican Manifesto" which was "placarded in Paris July 1, 1791 after the flight of Louis XVI".[10] He also wrote *On The Legislative and Executive Powers* (1791). *Rights of Man* appeared in 1791 (3–400,000 copies), followed by a second edition in 1792 in two parts (1.5 million copies).[11] The ministry summoned Paine and set trial for fall, 1792; jailed bookseller J. S. Jordan; commissioned the Chalmers "biography", and sent the constable for Paine September, 1792. William Blake warned Paine the evening of September twelfth not to go home but to immediately leave England,[12] and the constable arrived in Dover September thirteenth some hours after Paine had sailed for France.

In 1792 Paine had been elected a Deputy to the French Convention from Calais, and he now attended sessions. He opposed the execution of the king, and was imprisoned by the Terrorists in the Luxembourg fortress December, 1793 until November, 1794. He had been condemned by Robespierre but an error allowed him to escape.[13] While awaiting execution, Paine showed "quiet courage" and gave money to other prisoners.[14] Paine explained the failure of the revolution in *Age of Reason* (1794), which he stayed in France to write. Before he finally returned to America in 1802, several important pamphlets were published: *Dissertation on First Principles of Government* (1795) in support of the 1792 proposed French constitution, *Agrarian Justice* (1797), and

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"Maritime Compact" (1797) which was reprinted by President Jefferson in America.

At the age of sixty-five Paine returned to a vastly changed and hostile America. His friendship with the President was unchanged, but the Federalist press was abusive to both.[15] Paine wrote more during the last seven years of his life than any earlier period. *Constitutional Reform* (1805), "Liberty of the Press" (1806), "The Cause of Yellow Fever" (1806), correctly linking the disease with harbor water, and "Essay on Dreams" (1807) were the principal writings. He wrote in his will, "I have lived an honest and useful life to mankind . . ." and died the morning of June 8, 1809, in New York City.

II. AN AMERICAN FOUNDER

As usually portrayed, Paine arrived in the colonies an inexperienced firebrand fleeing past mistakes who was swept into the vortex of events, dizzily composing incendiary propaganda with other people's ideas.[16] This picture is not accurate. Had Paine no political experience? He had been a Lewes Vestryman, a civil servant under the Crown, a labor spokesman and lobbyist, and had flourished in the face-to-face politics of the English pub. Paine served in the Lewes Committee of Twelve from October, 1769 until July, 1772,[17] dealing with taxation, elections and auditing the Constables' and Headboroughs' accounts.[18] Eighteenth century excisemen rode a circuit by horseback, inspecting the goods in pubs and stores. They were underpaid, the work was unpopular if not dangerous in a coastal area where smuggling existed, and each officer had more goods than he could actually inspect. Paine argued that higher pay would improve collections.[19] Thirty-seven years old when he emigrated to the colonies, Paine's accomplishments in his home country outweigh his failures: a staymaker's son, appointed by merit to the excise service, a town officer, chosen to lobby for the excisemen in London, and impressing Franklin and Goldsmith. These long strides gave Paine a valuable background.[20]

What is an American Founder? The term suggests the nobility of George Washington, the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin, the whiz-kid Alexander Hamilton (still a student at Kings College at the start of the war), the integrity and intuition of Thomas Jefferson, the skill of James Madison whose notes provide the only record of the Constitutional Convention), and perhaps the juridical innovation of John Marshall. The concept therefore would include these elements: public service at personal cost, exposure and loyalty, innovativeness, perfor-

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mance of the duties of office, a charter position in the new republic, high character, and a vision of the future. This might be one formulation of 'an American Founder'.

Thomas Paine met these criteria—though he was neither a native colonist nor a man of wealth. He served the public and its causes with affection throughout his life at a cost equivalent to complete generosity. So complete was Paine's loyalty, under fire and duress, to the cause of democracy that he alienated people like John Adams and Gouverneur Morris. Thomas Paine was unusually creative. He was not completely original, but he put principles to work on immediate, practical problems at what he called the "seedtime".[21] While he held colonial and Confederation appointments, the vehicle for Paine's contributions was not office but personal contact through informal association. Not just a revolutionary, Paine contributed to the operations and structure of the Confederation and of the emerging Constitutional federation. Paine had high moral character and habits. A vision of America based on human perfectibility motivated him, and he envisioned brighter possibilities than did the Constitution framers.

These general qualities depended on particular character traits. Paine was generous without being indiscriminate, and self-sacrificing without seeking martyrdom.[22] These virtues he displayed frequently. For example he paid the costs of publishing *Common Sense* himself, then gave half the receipts to the publisher of the first of several editions, Robert Bell, and donated his own half to the fund for winter clothing for the army.[23] From sales of 500,000, he kept nothing. When the choice came in 1779 between silence and safety or confirming fraud by an American emissary, Silas Deane, at the cost of his position as Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, Paine brought the evidence forward. He then resigned, perhaps America's first whistleblower and, as one of the first to oppose profit from public office, Paine stimulated an anti-graft campaign resulting in the first conflict-of-interest laws in Maryland and Virginia.[24]

Although Paine never sought individual financial security, he invested with precision to capitalize public concerns. During the financial woes of the 1780's, Paine suggested and then backed with his entire salary of 500 dollars the Bank of North America.[25] The immediate need was financing army supplies.[26] Paine's use of money Dorfman and others call poor personal planning,[27] in part for this reason: Paine did later request, and was granted, reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses, but he did not buy income securities such as Continental bonds which figured strongly in the Constitutional Convention.[28]

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This generosity, continued later in France, was a major virtue of Paine's.

The loyalty of a founder is more than steady support of the prevailing cause. A living model, created from the resources of character, that summons loyalty in others, would be a founder's loyalty. This Paine displayed by accepting mortal risk, by acting and speaking strictly from principle, even in self-criticism, and by drawing on his fervent love of the enfranchised public. A multitude of illustrations can be given.

Paine's risk, had the Revolution failed, was near-certain death owing to his unusual practice of signing personally his newspaper articles.[29] This published acceptance of responsibility has earned Paine one student's description as the first responsible journalist.[30] Principles guided Paine like a compass and paradoxically, Paine's clarity of orientation heightened amidst turmoil, as *Age of Reason* and Paine's *Pennsylvania Magazine* articles show. In Paris in 1794 whilst the city lived the Reign of Terror, Paine was heading a critique of events with his testimony of belief in God.[31] In the confusion of the years 1774 and 1775 Paine distilled the meaning of the emerging nation. Freedom forbids slavery[32], a nation rests on its society and that rests on families which must not (but did) victimize women[33], and all men should vote, free of qualification.[34] The public which Paine loved was the new democratic polity, not the patricians' or aristocrats' tolerance for the citizen, but a deep love. Loyalty to the Revolution was fidelity to self-governing men.[35]

> (A) charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, professional freedom, or property.[36]

Political creativity in gestating America required the thinker's, the visionary's, and the inventor's skills, not alone, but all three, a synthesis.[37] That is, it required someone moving with speed and agility from politics already thought-out to new issues.[38] It required as well a wide time-perspective and a sense of timing. And it required finally the invention of new political structures.

Paine's knowledge of England pressed him to conclude quickly that the Battle of Lexington was a terminus.[39] No one leaps into a vacuum, so Paine suggested outlines of a new government right in *Common Sense.*[40] Paine's influence in Philadelphia during the Second Continental Congress (he was not a delegate) has led one admirer to wrongly

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credit Paine with authoring the Declaration of Independence.[41] Better is Paine's role seen in this comment by Ralph Izard of South Carolina:

> America has been fortunate in having her cause supported by so able an advocate as Mr. Paine . . . against the assaults of so many of her own natural offspring.[42]

The "Crisis" papers similarly inspired, articulated and innovated politics in the face of danger. "These are the times that try mens' souls" began "Crisis I". The practical problem in "Crisis VIII" was supplies; the remedy, the supply fund. In *Public Good* (1780) Paine called for a new Constitution and criticized Virginia's claim to western land upon a new formulation of federalism that foreshadowed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.[43] And when Rhode Island balked at ratifying a Confederation tax assessment, Paine formulated in letters to Rhode Island newspapers the seminal principle of dual sovereignty,[44] that state and federal authority coexists. Woodward credits Paine with the first published use of the name, 'United States of America', while Foner calls Paine the orignator in *Rights of Man* of the very language of nineteenth century American politics.[45]

Not half a decade after arriving alone in Philadelphia, Thomas Paine had become an officer of the Continental Congress. Paine held elective and appointive posts in three countries. He had been very successful editing the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, having contributed one-fifth of the copy himself and increased the circulation five-fold.[46] Secretary or aide-de-camp to three commanders—Daniel Roberdeau, Nathaniel Greene and George Washington—Paine had entered service as a volunteer soldier. As Secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress, Paine dealt with matters of diplomacy now the business of the State Department.[47] When Paine left this post he was appointed Clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Congress appointed Paine a public relations specialist in February, 1782, at a salary of eight hundred dollars per year.

Is someone who signed neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution entitled to charter status in the American Republic? Was Paine riding the coat—tails of history or breasting the waves? In terms of timing, a look at the Battle of Lexington and the retreat from Ft. Lee to Trenton shows Paine's leadership. He first regarded Lexington as Britain's de facto declaration of war when others hoped for reconciliation in a vacuous ambivalence.[48] This irreconcilability, likened to a brigand disrupting a courtroom,[49] meant separation, which Paine

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stated forcefully. This force came from Paine's view of colonial strategic superiority, formulated earlier in *Pennsylvania Magazine* articles.[50] The contest was a question, not of this or that battle, but of moral strength, logistical support, and demographics. Demographics was the easiest factor—the colonies, fighting on their own soil, won if they didn't lose.[51] Moral superiority and logistics would take work. Good society is based on love, so we must still our grasping natures.[52] Honor resides in the public, it has nothing to do with duelling[53] or titles.[54] Spiritual freedom precedes political freedom.[55] We would be tested in war, because England was carried by the opinion that the colonists would not fight.[56] But if we simply kept the army supplied, we could not lose.[57]

Paine could say, secondly, during the disheartening retreat in December, 1776 from Ft. Lee to Trenton, in the stirring essay composed on a drumhead in Washington's camp:

> There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude . . . [58]

Again, when the prevailing mood was running opposite what Paine was saying, he expressed optimism born of his own assessments and thinking. This 'looking on the bright side' suggests to those who experienced World War II propaganda an insubstantial manipulation of opinion,[59] but minimally one may say that Paine was leading and that he had recorded the grounds for his views earlier on. Paine sustained this leadership throughout the 1770's and early 1780's, on other issues such as the debates over the Pennsylvania Constitution and the public finance crisis.

What kind of person was Thomas Paine? The inquirer must first read the Chalmers book to see the source and specifics of the negative Paine myth.[60] The nearly two centuries of bad literature, pro and con, must be put aside. The reader distills these facts. Physically Paine was "about five feet ten inches high; and rather athletic; he was broad shouldered, and latterly stooped a little."[61] Clio Rickman, who wrote the forgoing, and who was a friend of Paine in Europe, offers this additional description:

> His eye . . . was full, brilliant, and singularly piercing . . . like a gentleman of the old French school . . . his manners were easy and gracious; his knowledge was universal and boundless . . . his conversation had every fascination that anecdote, novelty and truth could give it.[62]

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By personal habit Paine practised moderation in food, social drinking, indifference to property, and sexual moderation if not celibacy following the first marriage.[63] The atmosphere of the congenial pub seems Paine's favorite meeting ground. He had strong religious beliefs. He disliked religious ceremony and doctrine, he was familiar with many religious traditions including the work of Sanskrit scholar Sir William Jones (died 1794),[64] he practised what he called contemplation, or meditation,[65] and he was a Theophilanthropist. Paine's friends were Joel Barlow, Clio Rickman, Thomas Jefferson, William Blake, Lafayette, Condorcet, Kosciusko, Robert Fulton, and Madame and Nicolas Bonneville.

III. An Early Political Scientist

Thomas Paine was one of our earliest political scientists. He was a scientific man—an observer, inventor, a believer in the doctrine of perfectibility. He was someone who actually thought in global terms and saw nations as units in a larger and yet embryonic whole. He wrote the charter for, and belonged to, the Society for Political Inquiries in Philadelphia. The unfolding importance of demography in large nation-states in relation to democracy was one of the seeds of Paine's thinking. He did work that, while necessarily soft in data, ranged from comparative politics, through legislative processes and administration, to political economy and political psychology, as well as sociology. One key to Paine's sense of the science of politics is his frequently demonstrated ability to quantify where appropriate. Yet Paine formulated an early critique of the mechanical precepts surrounding the notion of checks and balances, having grasped the limits of such analogies in politics and written constitutions.

Paine regarded scientific curiosity as intrinsic in all people because expressed by children in play, and as a young man he went to scientific lectures in London.[66] Throughout his life, Paine experimented. With George Washington he sought the nature of gas seen bubbling out of the creek at Rocky Hill, New Jersey. While soldiers disturbed the bottom mud with poles, Paine held lighted rolls of cartridge paper over the water and confirmed that the "swamp gas" was flammable.[67] Observation was a pastime of Paine's in many areas: astronomy,[68] geology,[69] metallurgy,[70] physics,[71] and psychology.[72] Inventions Paine actually constructed were a planing machine, a new crane, a gunpowder motor, and a steamboat.[73] The iron bridge was Paine's major invention, described in his British patent (1788) as a compound of

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arches designed after a spiders web.[74] Paine's design and a 110 foot prototype were the forerunner of bridges constructed of iron in England in the 1800's.[75] Most of this engineering was done between May, 1786 and the summer of 1789.

Paine saw himself as a citizen of the world. He had a sense of internationalism, a premonition of world community, and a grounding in the politics of three different countries. Paine travelled often, was at home in many places with ease, and while he was a diplomat on occasion (France in 1781, England in 1788–89),[76] his three critical changes of continent were all on personal business.[77] The new immigrant of 1774 explained in this way the writing of *Common Sense:*

> It was the cause of America that made me an author . . . the dangerous condition the country appeared to me in, by courting an impossible and unnatural reconciliation.[78]

An absence of just a few months was all Paine had expected when he left America to submit the iron bridge to the French Academy.[79] Paine was in no sense a revolutionary who went from country to country inflaming passions, therefore, but rather someone who found volatile conditions. He carried a tremendous reputation with him, and was asked in England and France for help. It was as a political scientist that Paine accepted election as a Deputy from Calais.[80] Having experienced national politics in three countries before the eighteenth century ended, Paine regarded the nation-state as natural and necessary for the present stage of Man, but transient.[81] Along with heightened political capacity throughout the entire race, Paine foresaw world community, the vision with his deepest allegiance.[82] This is part of the larger doctrine of perfectability, that "improvement and the world will expire together . . ."[83]

The February, 1787, preface to the Bylaws of the Society for Political Inquiries, written by Paine, contains this statement:

> While objects of subordinate importance have employed the associated labors of learned and ingenious men, the arduous and complicated science of government has been generally left to the care of practical politicians, or the speculations of individual theorists. From a desire of supplying this deficiency, and of promoting the welfare of our country, it is now proposed to establish a society for mutual improvement in the knowledge of government, and for the advancement of political science.[84]

Paine was only to attend meetings for two months between February and his departure for France in April, 1787. But he did contribute one

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"well-written dissertation".[85] Meetings took place in Franklin's library, and members included Washington, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, and Benjamin Rush, among others.[86] Topics were set one week in advance, members submitted papers for discussion, and rules governed membership and the procedings.[87] This 1787 group was probably America's first political science association.

The key to Paine's contribution to the distant science of politics was the connection between demography and democracy and the appropriate use of quantification and empirical inquiry. Democracy for Paine was a right grounded in a generous view of Man, it meant universal male suffrage and participation, and involves a view of representation as fact-finding.[88] Paine raised or operationalized questions of political structure, process and outcome, but without deflating his presuppositions to a utilitarian hedonistic calculus. Those concerned with a quantitative approach to politics as technique[89] often exclude all else.[90] For Paine, measureable facts provide the input and serve to evaluate the output, which Paine found quite lacking in England.

The concern with technique drew from Paine a plan for the new government in *Common Sense,* a method for the gradual emancipation of slaves,[91] an operationalized defense of the wide suffrage provision of the 1776 Pennsylvania constitution,[92] the innovation of dual sovereignty, analysis of the legislative process,[93] the principles of public finance,[94] methods of international negotiation,[95] and a system of public welfare.[96] *Rights of Man* (1791–92) yielded discussion of administration by monarchic and republican models,[97] representation,[98] division of powers,[99] legislative process,[100] legal rights,[101] constitutions,[102] and public opinion as a new form of political input.[103]

Paine also did a surprising amount of quantification of political questions. He compared the colonies' strategic resources with England's military strength.[104] He wrote the series of articles on finance covering the cost and class burden of England's wars[105] and the weaknesses of British monitarism,[106] welfare costs, and others. Some of the questions Paine gave succinct empirical treatment were the political economy of fisheries,[107] the causes of the American Revolution,[108] tax redistribution,[109] questions of public opinion,[110] franchise effects of voting qualifications,[111] game analysis of legislative voting,[112] welfare measures,[113] and the ecology of yellow fever.[114]

IV. Conclusion

Thomas Paine was an American founder and political scientist, whose view of Man belongs to a third stream of political ideas. That Paine is

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not of the school of Edmund Burke, called classical conservative, embracing original sin, inequality and privilege, is certain. That Paine is also not of the school of John Locke's "possessive individualism", called classical liberal, is the point to be made.[115] Locke began as did Burke with Man in the Bible, but pictured Man in the Garden of Eden as an acquirer of property, and government as an umpire. Property is the axis.

The third stream of Thomas Paine is that of Roger Williams' free conscience, Benjamin Franklin's civic virtues and independence of thought, and Crevecoeur's new-world man of elevated character and society. In the nineteenth century it was taken up again by Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman. Paine spoke of reason, contemplation, a compact with God prior to the social contract, a science of government, democracy, and perfectibility. He said:

> The duty of man is not a wilderness of turnpike gates, through which he is to pass by tickets from one to the other. It is plain and simple, and consists but of two points. His duty to God, which every man must feel; and with respect to his neighbor, to do as he would be done by. If those to whom power is delegated do well, they will be respected; if not, they will be despised; and with regard to those to whom no power is delegated, but who assume it, the rational world can know nothing of them.[116]

CENTRAL COAST EYE ASSOCIATES

NOTES

1. Thomas A. Edison, introduction to William M. Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine* in Van der Weyde, ed., *The Life and Works of Thomas Paine* (New Rochelle: Thomas Paine National Historical Association), 1925, Vol. I, p. viii.
2. See the first two biographies which created the negative Paine myth, George Chalmers, *The Life of Thomas Paine* by Francis Oldys (London: John Stockdale), 1791, and James Cheetham, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: Southwick), 1809. Reinterpretations include Norman Jacobson, "Political Science and Political Education", *American Political Science Review,* March, 1963, Vol. LVII, pp. 561–569; Eric Foner, *Thomas Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1976, pp. xii, 269; Jerome Douglas Wilson, "Thomas Paine in the Twentieth Century: His Reputation in America 1900–1970", unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Auburn University, 1972.
3. G. Vale, preface to *Life of Thomas Paine* (Boston: J. P. Mendum) 1871.
4. Paine's standing can be seen in these letters: George Washington to Paine, Sept. 10, 1783, Van der Weyde, Vol. VII, pp. 19–20; George Washington to Paine May 6, 1792, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 239–240; James Madison to Washington, July 2,

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1784, ibid., vol. I, pp. 149–150; Benjamin Franklin to Paine, Sept. 24, 1785, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 153–154; Thomas Jefferson to Paine, March 18, 1801, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 419–420; James Monroe to Paine, Sept. 18, 1794, ibid., vol. V, pp. 157–159.

5. See the colorful vignette in a novel otherwise consistently wide of the factual mark in Howard Fast, *Citizen Tom Paine* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce), 1944, p. 8.
6. Joseph V. Metzgar, "Thomas Paine: A Study in Social and Intellectual History", unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The University of New Mexico, 1965' p. 27.
7. Richard Gimbel, *Thomas Paine: A Bibliographical Check List of Common Sense With An Account Of Its Publication* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1956, p. 57.
8. Editor's notes, "The American Crisis", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 263–368 and Vol. III, pp. 1–256.
9. Paine, "Thomas Paine to the Citizens of the United States, and Particularly to the Leaders of the Federal Faction", *The National Intelligencer,* Washington, Nov. 15, 1802, Van der Weyde, Vol. X, p. 95.
10. Editor's note, Van de Weyde, Vol. VII, p. 123.
11. James T. Boulton, *The Language of Politics in the Age of Wilkes and Burke* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1963, p. 88.
12. David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire: A Poet's Interpretation of the History of His Own Times* (1954), quoted in Samuel Edwards, *Rebel! A Biography of Thomas Paine* (New York: Praeger), 1974, p. 135. This appears as well in the earlier *Life of William Blake* by Gilchrist; Frank Smith, *Thomas Paine Liberator* (New York: Frederick A. Stoker), 1938, p. 170.
13. Letter from Paine to George Washington, July 30, 1796, Van der Weyde, Vol. V, p. 155; "Letter to the Citizens of the United States," ibid., Vol. X, p. 121.
14. David Freeman Hawke, *Paine* (New York: Harper, Row and Co.), 1974, p. 301.
15. Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* J. B. Lippincott), hiladelphia: 1959, p. 317; John E. Remsburg, *Thomas Paine, The Apostle of Religious and Political Liberty* (Boston: J. P. Mendum), 1880, pp. 61–62.
16. Cecelia M. Kenyon, "Where Paine Went Wrong", *American Political Science Review,* December, 1951, Vol. XLV, no. 4, p. 1086, is one example.
17. Sussex Record Society, *The Town Book of Lewes 1702–1837* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society), Vol. 60, pp. 56–63.
18. Ibid., "Introduction".
19. Paine, "Case of the Officers of Excise", Van der Weyde, Vol. X, pp. 327–346.
20. See for example Paine's comparison of local and Crown government in *Rights of Man,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VI, pp. 176–177.
21. "Now is the seedtime of continental union, faith and honor," Paine, *Common Sense,* Van der Wyde, Vol. II, p. 124.
22. 'Self-Sacrificing' in Gandhi's sense of *tapas,* "ceaseless self-restraint, an acceptance of suffering' the dispelling of . . . illusions by a clear vision of his real nature and his essential identity with all other beings", Raghavan N. Iyer, *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1973, p. 235.
23. Foner, p. 192.

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24. Hawke, p. 93.
25. Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine,* Vol. I, pp. 107–108.
26. Paine, "Crisis IX", Van der Weyde, Vol. III, p. 123.
27. Joseph Dorfman, "The Economic Philosophy of Thomas Paine", *Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. XIII, No. 3, Sept. 1938, p. 372; Hawke, p. 21; Aldridge, p. 33; Chalmers, pp. 76–77.
28. C. A. Beard in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* estimated that the holders of Continental bonds had at stake an increase in value of $40,000,000, representing one-tenth the taxable value of land in the colonies, Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History* (New York: Harper and Row), 1960, p. 147.
29. Hawke, p. 64.
30. Ibid., p. 65.
31. Paine, *Age of Reason,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VIII, p. 4.
32. Paine, "African Slavery in America", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 3–10.
33. Paine, "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 73–78.
34. Paine, *Dissertation on First Principles of Government,* Van der Weyde, Vol. V, p. 222.
35. Paine, *Rights of Man,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VI, pp. 263–266.
36. Paine, *Common Sense'* Van der Weyde, Vol. II, p. 163.
37. Many variations on the theme of Paine's ability to synthesize can be found, cf. Moncure Daniel Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 1892, Vol. II, p. 190; F. J. Gould, *Thomas Paine* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co.), 1925, p. 110; Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine,* Vol. I, p. 185.
38. Paine had given early thought to political philosophy, from an autobiographical note written in 1793, *Age of Reason,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VIII, p. 69.
39. Paine knew economic England had outpaced social and political England, Gould, p. 17; he was an unprejudiced newcomer, outside factions, Mary Agnes Best, *Thomas Paine: Prophet and Martyr of Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.), 1927, p. 187; his feeling for British strategy was a result of Paine's excise lobbying, Aldridge, p. 28; this feeling came also from Paine's experience in Lewes town government, Audrey Wiliamson, *Thomas Paine: His Life, Work and Times* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.), 1973, pp. 37–43.
40. Paine, *Common Sense,* Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp.144–145.
41. Joseph Lewis *Thomas Paine: Author of the Declaration of Independence* (New York: Freethought Press Association), 1947. What Lewis does show, as can be seen by reading *Common Sense* and then looking at the *Declaration,* is that Paine's ideas are there. This means that Becker's view that the *Declaration* is wholly Lockian is not an accurate view. See Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York: Vintage Books), 1942.
42. Best, p. 187.
43. Hawke, p. 109.
44. Ibid., p. 133.
45. W. E. Woodward, *Tom Paine: America's Godfather 1737–1809* (New York: E. P. Dutton), 1945, p. 94; Foner, pp. 225–226.
46. Hawke, p. 29.

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47. Van der Weyde, Vol. I, pp. 43–48.
48. See excerpts from *Constitutional Gazette,* February 24, 1776; *Almon's Remembrancer* (1776); *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* March 17, 1776; and the letter from George Washington to Joseph Reed, January, 1776, Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine,* Vol. I, pp. 31–32; see also *ibid.,* pp. 36–37, 38.
49. Paine, "Crisis III", Van der Weyde, Vol. II. p. 329.
50. Paine, "Thoughts on Defensive War", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 79–84.
51. Paine, "Crisis IX", Van der Weyde, Vol. III, pp. 117–118.
52. Paine, "Cupid and Hymen" and "Reflections on Unhappy Marriages", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 49–54 and 73–78.
53. Paine, "Duelling", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 55–63.
54. Paine, "Reflections on Titles", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, p. 66.
55. Paine, "Thoughts on Defensive War", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, p. 83.
56. Ibid., pp. 79–80, 84.
57. Paine states this principle most clearly in "Crisis IX", Van der Weyde, Vol. III, pp. 117–118.
58. Paine, "Crisis I", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, p. 269.
59. Cf. Phillip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1941.
60. *The Life of Thomas Paine,* (1791).
61. Thomas Clio Rickman, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (London: Rickman), 1819, p. xv.
62. Ibid.
63. Vale, p. 52. Also see two of Paine's letters to women friends, to Kitty Nicholson, Jan. 6, 1789, Van der Weyde, Vol. I pp. 178–184, and to Lady Smyth, 1802, Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 301–313.
64. Gould, p. 170; Cheetham, p. xxii.
65. Paine, *Age of Reason,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VIII, pp. 70–71, 84; "Crisis III", ibid., Vol. II, p. 310.
66. Williamson, Ch. 2.
67. Paine, "The Cause of the Yellow Fever", Van der Weyde, Vol. X., pp. 277–279.
68. Paine, "Reply to the Bishop of Llandaff", Van der Weyde, Vol. IX, pp. 61–66.
69. Paine, "Useful and Entertaining Hints", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 25–33.
70. Letter from Paine to Sir George Staunton, January 3, 1803, Van der Weyde, Vol. X, pp. 189–215.
71. Paine, "The Existence of God", Van der Weyde, Vol. IX, pp. 6–7.
72. Paine, "An Essay on Dream", Van der Weyde, Vol. IX, pp. 191–203.
73. "Sir Richard Phillips, who assisted Fulton in his steamboat experiments on the Thames, credits Paine with priority in the application of steam to navigation. He had probably learned about Paine's labors in this direction from Fulton, who was one of Paine's friends." Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine,* Vol. I, pp. 188–189.
74. Paine, patent specification for iron bridge, August 28, 1788, Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 1–6.
75. "Paine's experimental bridge became the prototype of the modern steel arch . . .", Charles C. Schreider, Presidential address, American Society of Civil Engineers, quoted in Williamson, p. 106.
76. Paine went with Henry Laurens, Jr., to negotiate a loan from France in February,

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1881, and later in the winter of 1788–89 was Jefferson's source of information on British affairs during a long interval between American ministers to the Court of St. James, Van der Weyde, *Life of Thomas Paine,* Vol. I, pp. 121–123, 193–213.

77. Paine came to America in 1774 for personal reasons, he went to France in 1787 on personal business, and he returned to America in 1802, again, for personal reasons.
78. Paine, "Crisis XIII", Van der Weyde, Vol. III, p. 246.
79. Paine, "Thomas Paine to the Citizens of the United States", *The National Intelligencer,* Van der Weyde, Vol. X, pp. 95–96.
80. Letter from Paine to George Washington, July 30, 1796, in Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 150–151.
81. Paine, "Letter to the Abbe Raynal", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, p. 198.
82. Paine, "Crisis VIII", Van der Wyde, Vol. III, p. 113; *Common Sense,* ibid., Vol. II, pp. 131, 179; *Rights of Man,* ibid., Vol. VI, p. 231.
83. Paine, "The Magazine in America", Van der Wyde, Vol. II, p. 21.
84. Paine, "Society for Political Inquiries", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, p. 312.
85. Editor's note, Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, p. 311.
86. Ibid.
87. "Laws and Regulations", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 313–315.
88. *Rights of Man* is the classic statement of a generous view of human nature and the corresponding politics, Van der Weyde, Vol. VI and VII; *Dissertation on First Principles of Government,* which Paine wrote to defend the 1792 French proposed constitution he had helped write as a member of the committee on the constitution of the French Convention of 1792, is his most concise statement, Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 207–242.
89. Lincoln considers Paine's distinction as a political scientist in eighteenth century terms his concern with the technique as opposed to just the idea of government. Anthony Lincoln, *Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent 1763–1800* (Cambridge University Press), 1938, p. 119.
90. Thinkers like Price embraced an absolute good but eschewed sociometric evaluation, Lincoln, p. 108. Those who quantified, like the utilitarians, sunk into a hedonistic calculus which forced out that which can not be counted, cf. John Stuart Mill, "Utilitarianism" in Max Lerner, ed., *Essential Works of John Stuart Mill* ew York: Bantam Press), 1971, p. 199. Paine was able to both quantify and adhere to absolute values, e.g. *Rights of Man,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VII, pp. 87–94.
91. Paine, "African Slavery in America", Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 3–10.
92. Paine, "A Serious Address to the People of Pennsylvania on the Present Situation of Their Affairs", Philip S. Foner, *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Citadel Press), 1945, Vol. II, p. 277.
93. Paine, *Common Sense,* Van der Weyde, Vol. II, p. 144; *Dissertations on Government; The Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money,* ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 219–310; *Answer to Four Questions on the Lesgislative and Executive Powers,* ibid., Vol. V, pp. 15–40; *Dissertation on First Principles of Government,* ibid., Vol. V, pp. 207–242.
94. Paine, "Crisis VIII", Van der Weyde, Vol. III, pp. 101–114; "Crisis Extraordinary", ibid., pp. 125–158; "Crisis XII", ibid., pp. 219–238; "Letter to Rhode Island", Philip S. Foner, Vol. II, p. 345.

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95. Paine, "Prospects on the Rubicon", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 317–377; "Maritime Compact" in "Letter VII to the People of the United States", April, 1803, ibid., Vol. X, 161–168.
96. Paine, *Agrarian Justice,* Van der Weyde, Vol. X, pp. 1–38; also *Rights of Man,* Vol. VII, Ch. V, pp. 1–114.
97. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 31–32, 205–206' 288, 305–324.
98. Ibid., Part II, Ch.s III & IV.
99. Ibid., pp. 305–306.
100. Ibid., pp. 306–313.
101. Ibid., pp. 145–212.
102. Ibid., Ch. IV, pp. 76, 119.
103. Ibid., pp. 205–206.
104. Paine, *Common Sense,* Van der Weyde, Vol. II, pp. 150–161.
105. Paine, "Prospects on the Rubicon", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 357–362.
106. Paine, *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance,* Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 255–300.
107. Paine, "Peace, and the Newfoundland Fisheries", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 1–42.
108. Paine's "Letter to the Abbe Raynal" was an answer on historical and sociological grounds to the book by Raynal, *The Revolution in America* (1782); Paine disputed that the Revolution was caused by a 'slight tax', Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, pp. 111–212.
109. Paine, "Prospects on the Rubicon", Van der Weyde, Vol. IV, p. 323; *Rights of Man,* ibid., Vol. VII, p. 26; *Agrarian Justice,* ibid., Vol. X, pp. 1–37.
110. Paine, "On the Legislative and Executive Powers", Van der Weyde, Vol. V, p. 30.
111. Paine, "The Constitution of 1795", Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 245–246.
112. Paine argued for unicameral legislatures on the grounds of voting analysis, showing how a minority in a two-house system can defeat a majority, "On the Legislative and Executive Powers", Van der Weyde, Vol. V, pp. 15–40.
113. Paine, *Rights of Man,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VII, p. 91.
114. Paine, "The Cause of the Yellow Fever", Van der Weyde, Vol. X, pp. 273–287.
115. C. B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (London: Oxford University Press), 1970.
116. Paine, *Rights of Man,* Van der Weyde, Vol. VI, p. 69.

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Richard Klayman

An Artist's Formative Years: Copley's Education in Boston

The American artist has remained an historical figure on the fringe of historical scholarship. That, at least, is the sad conclusion one reaches after analyzing some of the more prestigious offerings of American cultural and social history. For example, James Thomas Flexner noted that Samuel Eliot Morison's study of eighteenth-century intellectual life in New England, *The Puritan Pronoas,* never even mentions colonial painting. The seminal work of Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought,* and Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization,* are both woefully inadequate regarding art, and especially colonial American painters.[1] In 1947 Flexner observed what remains true today: "A whole bibliographical work could be written on the neglect of American painting by social historians."[2]

At least one reason for this inappreciable, one might say, shabby treatment of America's colonial artists is that the colonial artistic experience has been thought of as merely an offshoot of British art. Historians and the public have believed that colonial painters relied on British manuals, copies of original works, or British training. As a result, the colonial artists have been depicted as indebted to the mother country's techniques and styles and seen as an imitator of this tradition, turning out second or third-rate works.[3] That early American artists relied upon alternative, indigenous sources for instruction or inspiration was not imagined. In addition, the works of an artist tend to receive far more attention than does the artist's life.

The childhood of John Singleton Copley illustrates how a biographer can better understand an artist's career. Clearly, Copley's family life lends itself to historical examination; in addition, his apprentice-

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ship and educational opportunities within the city's private and public schools explain Copley's enthusiasm for art and learning.

Little in his geneology suggests that John Singleton Copley was destined for artistic greatness. He was born on July 3, 1738, in Boston, to Mary Singleton Copley and Richard Copley. The Copleys had emigrated from Ireland in about 1735.[4] Settling on Long Wharf, the couple operated a small tobacco shop until Richard Copley's death.

Richard Copley's final estate was meager, consisting of tablecloths, an old desk, table, chairs, a skillet, and a couple of candlesticks.[5] Included within this inheritance were twelve bound books and six prints of pictures. The fact that the senior Copley possessed and bequeathed art prints suggests that he valued and even enjoyed pictures. Additionally portentous for young Copley was that Richard Copley's three-room living quarters, above the tobacco shop, were referred to as "the yellow chamber, the green chamber, and the kitchen."[6] Based on his bequest including books, art prints, and the color-designated rooms, one may speculate that Richard Copley imparted values and sensitivity about art to his son.

On May 22, 1748, Mary Copley married the painter and mezzotintist, Peter Pelham. Two rather unusual businesses were merged by the marriage. Young Copley experienced not only the tobacco business, but a life of an "artist in his studio," under the guidance of an enlightened man who cherished art and music and learning.

Three years after the marriage and after the birth of a child to the couple, Henry Pelham, Peter Pelham died. At the age of about twelve John Singleton Copley inherited mezzotint tools, paints, and brushes.

His life from when he was seven years old, in 1745, to his assumption of the duties of a practicing artist, sometime between 1751 and 1753, needs to be explored. What was his educational history? Was there any indication during his childhood that help reveal his spirit or mind? Of course, Copley's America was the source of all his doubts just, as in his portraits, they reflected his triumphs.

Just as Copley's painting style came from historically identifiable sources so did the elements of his early education. In particular, three specific phases of his early education require analysis. These include the family's contribution to his education, the probability of at least some public school education, and finally the training he received as an apprentice to his stepfather, Peter Pelham. Each phase helps reconstruct Copley's educational development, as well as reveal the rich educational diversity within colonial Boston. Recent historiographical work concerning the educational role of the colonial family helps us understand Copley's boyhood.

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Bernard Bailyn has written that "The history of the family is one of the most important threads in the whole fabric of cultural history: the historical role of education is inexplicable without reference to it."[7] Similarly, Copley's career as an artist lacks continuity and meaning unless an effort is made to explain the kind of childhood education he received.

Richard and Mary Copley emigrated to the colonies in the search for opportunity that distinguished the history of all immigration. They did not possess extraordinary skills or ambition other than their hopes and their labors.[8] In all probability, both Richard and Mary Copley worked at their small tobacco shop. Even after Richard's death, Mary continued as shopkeeper. On July 11, 1748, the following advertisement appeared testifying to her marriage to Peter Pelham and her continued shopkeeping activities:

> Mrs. Mary Pelham (formerly the widow Copley, on the Long Wharf, Tobacconist) is removed from Lindel's Row, against the Quaker's Meeting House, near the upper end of King Street, Boston, where she continues to sell the best Virginia Tobacco, Cut, Pigtail and spun, of all Sorts, by Wholesale, or Retail, at the Cheapest Rates.[9]

Whether it was because of a marital separation, or Richard Copley's death, Copley's family was unusually small. We must assume that young Copley was frequently at his mother's side: in their shop during the day, perhaps amusing himself by playing in a not too busy room; when their workday was done they experienced everything from everyday food preparation through moments of relaxation. At the least, the Copley household was inwardly focused. Mother and son's sense of survival, companionship and identities were inexorably connected.[10]

Richard Copley's final will lends itself to specific hypotheses about his early education. Books and pictures were part of the family's environment; and they must have been used to entertain and instruct the child.[11] Particularly with an only child, the opportunity for shared moments of quiet reading existed. Indeed, family tradition suggests that Copley began reading and drawing while in the nursery, and later in childhood he even sketched in his school books.[12] He was quiet, introspective and "loved to retire, unheeded, to muse over his own fancies."[13]

No doubt Copley possessed a disposition to art at an early age, and the fact that the household included pictures and books adds a bit of concreteness to family folklore. But most importantly, Copley's mother nurtured and tutored her only child. Mary Copley's thoughts

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and energies revolved about the little boy. His survival and his progress in the world must have consciously, and most joyfully, engaged her.[14]

The family quarters were sufficient to carry on the family life and probably were quite cozy and amenable to study. This was an advantageous home situation, especially in terms of self-study and reflection. As a child, Copley was very much the center of his family's attention.

For young Copley, his mother's marriage to Pelham was incredible good luck. Pelham was an industrious example of an artist, and undoubtedly, he provided fatherly direction and artistic focus for a precocious talent. But the marriage also suggests that Mary Copley found Pelham agreeable, presumably in his disposition and profession. It seems that more than luck promoted this relationship. It is quite probable that Mary Copley and Pelham sought companionship within a stable household. In addition she must have felt assured that Pelham would serve quite well as a husband and stepfather.

The source of Copley's early education was rooted in his stepfather's studio, and in Mary Copley's preservation of their household. Because she sought to educate and "invest" in her son, John Singleton Copley enjoyed a family life that was the foundation of his art and his colonial education.[15]

In colonial Boston, public schools served the educational needs of families seeking a limited but formal education for their children. By the mid-eighteenth century, Boston's public schools were a central part of the town's education. They supplemented education originating from the family as well as private school teachers.[16] Boston's schools provided basic instruction in addition to preparatory education for university-bound students. As a result, the children of colonial craftsmen, for example, availed themselves of the writing schools as did the children from even more humble backgrounds. The public schooling of Paul Revere and Benjamin Franklin help reveal the kind of schooling that John Singleton Copley probably received.

For instance, Benjamin Franklin described his early education in the public schools:

> I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read), and the opinion of all his friends that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his shorthand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set

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> up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to the head of it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of that year. But my father, in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which, having so large a family, he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell.[17]

Even this education lasted only until Franklin was ten years old when he began his first job as an assistant in his father's tallow trade. It was on-the-job training that was the ultimate schooling for a tradesman, with Franklin's father serving as his teacher.[18] Since Franklin despised the trade of a tallow maker, his father attempted to acquaint him with a variety of other trades.

Another tradesman's education, Paul Revere's, appeared firmly targeted to a silversmith's craft. "It is not likely that Mr. Revere had any other ambition for his son than to make a good silversmith of him."[19] Revere's education was somewhat typical. He attended the North Writing School, located in a two-story, wooden building on Love Lane in the North End of Boston. Revere was instructed in reading and writing by the schoolmaster, Zachariah Hicks, and John Proctor, serving as usher.[20] The only expense that this education presented to the Revere family was in sharing the cost of heating the schoolhouse.[21]

The years most likely for Copley to have attended public school were between 1745, when he reached his seventh birthday, up until 1751, the time of Pelham's death. In this period, the public school system of Boston consisted of the following institutions: The South Grammar School located on School Street; the North Grammar School, on Bennett Street; the Writing School on Queen Street; the North Writing School on Love Lane; and the South Writing School on Common Street. These five schools were in continual operation from 1720 to 1789.[22]

Considering that Mary Copley did not marry Pelham until May 22, 1748, Copley was probably sent to public school between the ages of seven and ten.[23] During these years Copley lived on Long Wharf. As mentioned, after her marriage to Pelham, Mary Copley and ten-year-old John resided at Pelham's house on "Lindel's Row, against the Quaker Meeting-House, near the Upper End of King Street. . . ."[24]

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Copley probably attended the Queen Street Writing School, since it was close to his home and appropriate for a youth of humble origin.[25]

The philosophy of the public schools was inviting and comprehensive. Residents of Boston paid no mandatory fees for their children's schooling.[26] Certainly, Copley's widowed mother would not be expected to pay any fee. For instance, when an isolated problem over payment did occur, in 1741, the Boston Selectmen ordered John Proctor, Master of the North Writing School, to appear before them:

> . . . upon the Complaint of his refusing to take Children of some families of low Circumstances in the World, and insisting on large Demands for Firing and Entry Money.[27]

Clearly, the Boston public schools were supposed to be accessible to the rich and poor children of the town. Copley's public school education was not hindered by his family's financial circumstances; indeed, the public schools encouraged the education of such individuals.

> . . . The Masters of the Public Grammar Schools and Writing Schools in the Town be directed not to refuse taking into their respective Schools, any Child or Children that may be brought to 'em for Education, in case Entrance money (so called) is not paid said Master, and also that they shall not demand any Pay or Allowance for Instructing such Children. . . .[28]

As with Paul Revere's education, "the Expense for Firing," might be received of those students who could afford the contribution.[29]

The purpose of the public schools was tailored for just such individuals as Revere and Copley.

> Our free schools seem to have been interested for the Benefit of the Poor and the Rich; that the Children of all, partaking of equal Advantages and being placed upon an Equal Footing, no distinction might be made among them in the Schools on account of the different Circumstances of their Parents, but that the Capacity and natural Genius of each might be cultivated & improved for the future benefit of the whole Community.[30]

Copley's education was appropriate for the son of a tobacconist, or as the adopted son of a mezzotintist. His public schooling served as a foundation for the specialized craftsman training Pelham provided. In reconstructing Copley's boyhood education, we must understand the urban school and the colonial craftsman. By doing so we can appreciate the many opportunities for education in urban life.

The writing school curriculum was basic: reading, writing, and arithmetic. Indeed, the ability to read was considered a family respon-

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sibility as well as a prerequisite for school admission.[31] In addition, the Selectmen instructed the masters "That the Scholars be Catechized every Saturday after the form of the Assemblies Catechism."[32]

The public grammar schools educated boys intended for the university and a professional career. The curriculum was, according to Samuel Eliot Morison, "a pretty stiff and thorough classical course."[33] The goal of the grammar-school curriculum was to acquaint the student with classical literature and authors, as well as to promote the mastery of Latin and Greek. Religion played a rather subordinate role in the curriculum. The student would then be prepared for "a further Degree of Education; whereby they may be rendered more eminently useful to the Community. . . ."[34]

Undoubtedly, Copley did not receive a grammar-school education. Classical literature and languages were quite removed from the employment requirements for the tobacco shop and the studio. For the most part, artisans conceived of education as a practical tool, specifically in terms of perfecting their skills.[35]

There never was a doubt that John Singleton Copley would continue the craft of his stepfather. In fact, family tradition had it that Copley possessed artistic talent and inclinations even before Peter Pelham appeared.[36] By 1748, Copley studied what would be the mezzotint and artist's craft and he embraced his art career wholeheartedly. He accepted the occupation of his stepfather and Copley's art career progressed under Pelham's tutelage.[37]

The central educational responsibility of the colonial family was to transmit the "Art and Mistery" of the craft from father to son. In a study of a wide variety of colonial craftsmen, Carl Bridenbaugh noted that specialization within a craft characterized the approach of the colonial urban family. Through the family, the "Art and Mistery" of a craft was *assured* of being continued.[38] Of course, continuity of the craft did not preclude a son from leaving the town of his father. As Oscar Handlin observed, an early assumption of one's craft "forced a child to be a man."[39] Copley's years with Peter Pelham, years that constituted all the educational aspects of an apprenticeship, comprised the third phase of his early education. It is clear that Pelham had much to teach about his mezzotint and painting craft. How inspired young Copley must have been, especially by the flurry of commissions Pelham received in 1750 and 1751![40] Pelham rendered five portraits and seven mezzotint engravings.[41]

However, Copley probably learned even more than painting and the art of mezzotint from Pelham because Pelham conducted classes as

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part of his private school activities. On December 18, 1737, the Boston Selectmen's Minutes reveal the following:

> Mr. Peter Pelham presented a Petition, Praying for Liberty to Open a School in this Town for the Education of Children in Reading, Writing, Needlework, Dancing and the Art of Painting Upon Glass.[42]

Thus, Pelham offered his stepson expertise in a craft as well as in more general education.[43]

Private schools were numerous in Boston. They supplemented the town's public facilities and usually accepted paying students of any age.[44] The particular expertise of the private school teacher was evident in the teacher's newspaper advertisements.

> This is to Notify any young Gentlemen who are desirous to learn the French Tongue. . . . If any young Ladies are curious of Learning that Language, they will find him ready to wait on Them said House, at what Hour they please please. . . .[45]

Instruction in languages, voice, advanced mathematics, and countless other subjects were offered at all hours of the day. Few teachers tried harder to attract a student population than Peter Pelham.[46] By 1742, Pelham hoped to increase his private school business.

> This is to inform those that are employ'd in Affairs and Business in the Day Time, that they may be taught Reading, Writing and Arithmetick, in the Evening by Mr. Peter Pelham, at his School near King-Street in Boston. Attend will be given from Candle-light till Nine, for the Six ensuing Months.[47]

In his youth, Copley acquired a number of educational habits that probably emanated from Pelham's legacy. Most significant is the fact that Copley pored over his stepfather's volumes on history, art, and philosophy.[48] He was taught the ability to teach himself. Self-education was a central theme in his American life and a source of his motivation for what he sought to accomplish as an artist. Pelham must be seen as the embodiment of private colonial education and as a central figure in Copley's self-education.

Copley viewed his education as ongoing and what disturbed him about colonial life was that this learning might end. He feared that self-education would give way to complacency; and he was concerned that colonial portraiture might stunt his ability or destroy his ambitions.

By 1751 Copley's education was in his own hands. Pelham's death came as a shock, for at twelve years of age, he was the new head of the

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household. His mother and half-brother looked to him for family leadership and colonial life demanded that he make his way in the world. If he had been a pampered child, he was neither pampered nor a child any longer.

In addition, Copley was a bit of a pedagogue himself. He instructed his half-brother, Henry Pelham, incessantly on painting and on the business of art. Undoubtedly, Peter Pelham's instructions to Copley reappear in Henry Pelham's art education. The education Copley and Henry Pelham received emanated from the same colonial background: the home, the urban public school, and the private schoolmaster. What is crucial in understanding Copley's entire career is that he possessed a rich educational background.

Bunker Hill Community College
Charlestown, Massachusetts

NOTES

1. James Thomas Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), pp. 277–278.
2. *Ibid.* Flexner noted that Curti's work summarized Colonial painting in a total of some seventy words. Charles and Mary Beard, according to Flexner, commit numerous errors of fact in two paragraphs devoted to Colonial art. A more recent synthesis by Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World, American Culture: The Formative Years* (New York: Viking Press, 1964) discusses John Singleton Copley in a single sentence which, I believe, is false: "John Singleton Copley fled Massachusetts in 1774 when his life had been threatened by a mob in search of a concealed Tory." Notwithstanding this exception, Jones' sensitivity and learning regarding American art have been inspirational. A very special monograph, Neil Harris's *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790–1860,* is clearly of seminal importance.
3. The following works explore the relationship of British and American art traditions: James Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947) and his *The Light of Distant Skies* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1954); also Russell Nye, *Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1890* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960). Earlier works on the development of the American arts include William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts on Design in the United States,* edited and with additions by Frank W. Bayley and Charles Goodspeed (Boston: C. E. Goodspeed Co., 1918, 3 vols.); Lee Cuthbert, *Early American Portrait Painters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929); Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting* (New York: McMillan Press, 1916).
4. One of the more important studies of American education and the family remains Bernard Bailyn's *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960). Bailyn believed that education

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must be viewed within the context of American civilization. He defined education "not only as formal pedagogy but as the entire process and the community, the family was central to this process. Equally significant is the work of Lawrence A. Cremin, particularly his *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). Cremin also believes the Colonial family "carried by far the greatest burden of educational obligation" (*Traditions of American Education,* New York: Basic Books, 1977, p. 12). Generally, Cremin suggests a more institutional and intentional definition of education than does Bailyn. Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth Century New England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966) explores education and apprenticeship. A most noteworthy work is that of Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life,* translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), Aries describes the history of childhood, the family, schools, and curricula in Europe. Also interesting is David Rothman's article, "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 3, 23 (1966), pp. 624–627.

Older but valuable works on the American family and education are Arthur W. Calhoun's *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present* (vols.; Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1917–1919); G. E. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions, Chiefly in England and the United States with an Introductory Analysis of the Literature and the Theories of Primitive Marriage and the Family,* Vol. 2, Chicago: 1904; Willystine Goodsell, *History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution,* New York: 1915; Alice Morse Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898).

5. Henry W. Foote, "When Was John Singleton Copley Born?" *New England Quarterly,* 10 (March 1937); pp. 111–20.
6. Suffolk County Court House, Boston, Massachusetts, Probate Court, Probate Number 8979.
7. Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley,* Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 9. See also Andrew Oliver, "Peter Pelham (c. 1697–1751): Sometime Printmaker of Boston," *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775:* A Conference Held by the Coionial Society of Massachusetts, April 1–2, 1971 (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 133–173.
8. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 75–76.
9. Perhaps an adventurous element was in the blood of Richard Copley. No records of his death have been located. According to family tradition, Copley sailed to the West Indies after his son's birth and died there. See Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.* (Boston, 1882), p. 2. The records in Boston's Suffolk County Courthouse reveal that Richard Copley, identified as a tobacconist, filed suit for 200 pounds against a mariner, James Hamilton. Copley had loaned Hamilton 180 pounds. On June 15, 1741, the court issued a summons to this effect. Early Court Records, Suffolk County Courthouse, Superior Court of Judicature, Boston, file no. 53765, vol. 345, fol. 133, July 1841, *Copley* v. *Hamilton.*
10. *Boston News-Letter,* July 11, 1748.

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11. The size of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century families has been a part of the demographic concern of American historians. It is generally agreed that Colonial family size was large. In the study, "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts," Philip J. Greven, Jr. states a family within his sample averaged 7.2 children growing to maturity (*William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 3, 23 (1966), pp. 237–238 and p. 238n). John Demos reveals that seven to eight children per family "who actually grew to manhood" in "Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony" (*William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 3, 22 (1965), p. 277). Kenneth A. Lockridge notes" 4.64 births recorded for each marriage in this hundred and one years" ("The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts 1636–1736," *The Economic History Review,* 2nd ser. 19 (1966), pp. 330–332). Greven's decreasing figures for eighteenth-century family size are similar to Lockridge's. See, *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 200–212.
12. Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Probate Court, Probate No. 8979. Richard Copley's estate consisted of the following items:

In the Yellow Chamber
- One Feather Bed, Boulster Curtains and two blankets
- One Old Desk
- One Looking Glass
- Six Prints and Pictures
- Twelve Bound Books
- Three Table Cloths, Two Towels
- Six Old Chairs

In the Green Chamber
- One Suit of Green Curtains
- Two Chests
- One Quilt

In the Kitchen
- Six Dishes, Seven Plates Pewter
- One Spit
- One Bell Mettle Skillet
- One Brass Sauspan
- Two Brass Candlesticks
- Two Iron D^{o} Old
- Two Flat Irons
- One Brass Skimmer.

13. Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R. A.,* pp. 2–10. Philippe Aries, *Centuries of Childhood,* Ch. 5, "From Immodesty to Innocence" and "Conclusion: The Two Concepts of Childhood." Eighteenth-century France and England witnessed children assuming a central place in the family. "Not only the child's future but his presence and his very existence are of concern." (P. 133). Lawrence Cremin echoes this idea in eighteenth century America: ". . . the place of the child in the household became more secure and hence more significant" (pp. 483–483). Aries' documentation rests upon his analysis of children's dress, games and children's depictions in

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painting. Cremin's conclusions are based upon a correlation of increased marriage ages and decreasing death rates. See John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth,* pp. 151, 192, 193; Greven, *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 31–37, 103, 143, 200, 203; also, James H. Henretta, "The Morphology of New England Society in the Colonial Period," in *The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays* ed. by Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 191–210.

14. Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.,* pp. 5–10. Amory, Copley's granddaughter, stated that from earliest childhood Copley executed "coarse drawings." She added that Copley and Henry Pelham "had a strong natural disposition for art . . . and this disposition undoubtedly had its influence on the home life of our artist" (p. 5).

15. Mary Copley's contributions toward her son's artistic development have gone unnoticed. She appears fleetingly in nearly all accounts of Copley's life. Yet, Copley was very much the concerned son reassuring her of his health, his diet, his accomodations, and his activities in Europe. Years later when he learned of her death, Copley wrote glowingly of her kindness, vitality and importance to his artistic development. Mary Copley shared an affinity with individuals sensitive to the arts. Further, she nurtured and reared John Singleton Copley as well as the artist Henry Pelham. In effect, she acted as wife and mother of one of America's earliest art families. See *Copley-Pelham Letters,* Copley to his mother, September 8, 1774, Paris, and June 25, 1775, Parma, pp. 253–256 and pp. 328–332. Also, *Bigelow Papers,* Copley to Mercy Scollay, London, August 28, 1789. Massachusetts Historical Society.

16. David Rothman, "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family," *William and Mary Quarterly,* Ser. 3, 23 (1966), p. 633. Rothman suggests and size of the colonial family was probably smaller than it has generally been believed to have been. He points to recent studies in 17th century England by Lawrence Stone and Peter Laslett which suggests that this was the case. The point regarding Copley's family in the eighteenth century was not so much its size as its strength of purpose, especially concerning education. Mary Copley's role in this regard was invaluable. David Rothman makes the following observation predicated on recent English and French scholarship: "The size of a household . . . is not related to strength of the family. The emancipation of women and children is not identical with the disintegration of the family. The strength or solidarity of the family is not a function of the authority of the father or husband." (Rothman notes, on p. 633n, the work of Andre-Michel, "La Femme dans la Famille Francaise," *Cahiers Internationaux,* XII (Mar.–Apr. 1960), pp. 61–74.)

17. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society,* pp. 26–27. Bailyn contended that the rise of the public schools paralleled a decline in importance of the Puritan family in the seventeenth century. He suggests the following: "The Puritans quite deliberately transferred the main functions of the family to formal instructional institutions, and in so doing not only endowed schools with a new importance but expanded their purpose beyond pragmatic vocationalism toward vaguer but more basic cultural goals" (p. 27). Edmund Morgan's *Puritan Family* interprets the rise of the school as related to the sys-

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tem of apprenticeship, as the more appropriate vehicle for education. For Morgan, the home's importance for education became less central by the late seventeenth century. James Axtell in *The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) believes an orderly transfer of education occurred from the family to the schools in the early eighteenth century. Axtell contends this took place when "the field for individual economic opportunity (began) to enlarge" (p. 286). Robert Middlekauff's *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth Century New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) alludes to a religious to secular transformation that included the public schools of Boston.

18. Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923 edition) pp. 9–10.
19. *Ibid.,* p. 10.
20. Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1942) p. 27. Residents were encouraged to make a financial contribution to the schools if their finances would permit it. See *A Report of The Record Commissioners,* Boston Selectmen Minutes, May 9, 1749. Also, Samuel Sewall's ledger notes an entrance fee charge for Sewall's nephew wishing to attend the Boston Writing School in Queen Street as well as ". . . five shillings 'To Mr. Sheaf for Fuel,' " September 29, 1725. Manuscript, New England Historical Gen. Soc. Fol. 178 in Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston 1635–1775* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 41.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 28.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Boston Selectmen Minutes provide voluminous material on the public schools. Yearly visitations of the schools were scheduled. A committee appointed by the selectmen observed the schools' operations, took a count of the number of students, and reported on the overall conditions. See Robert Middlekauff's brief discussion of the Boston school inspection committees in his *Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth Century New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 54–57. Also, Seybolt, *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston,* p. 10.
24. Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923 edition) pp. 9–10.
25. *Ibid.,* p. 10.
26. Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1942) p. 27.
27. *Ibid.,* p. 28.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.* See footnote number 21.
30. *Ibid.,* Ultimately, financial charges were not allowed. See Boston Records, Selectmen's Minutes, April 5, 1784: "Voted that the practice of Schoolmasters in receiving Entrance & Fire Money (so called) be abolished as inconsistent with that Freedom of Education which was originally intended in the Institution of the Publick Schools." Such a liberal policy was probably the exception, especially in rural New England schools. See James Axtell, *The School Upon the Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974, pp. 171–173).

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31. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1784.
32. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1741. "Mr. John Proctor . . . refus'd none of the Inhabitants Children, but such as could not read in the Psalter."
33. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1719.
34. Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 106.
35. Robert Seybolt, *The Public Schools,* p. 76, quoting an April 5, 1784 Boston town report. Morison makes a similar inference as regards the purpose for establishing Harvard: ". . . the advancement and perpetuation of learning were the broad and ultimate objects of the foundation; the education of ministers was the immediate purpose, the fear of an illiterate clergy was the dynamic motive." Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 247. Also, see Clifford K. Shipton's "Secondary Education in the Puritan Colonies," *New England Quarterly,* VIII (December, 1934), pp. 655–658. Shipton maintains that an increased secularism diminished the clergy's impact on the curriculum.
36. See Benjamin Franklin, "Idea of the English School Sketch'd Out for the Consideration of the Philadelphia Academy," Philadelphia, 1751 in Wilson Smith's *Theories of Education in Early American, 1655–1819,* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1973), pp. 177–183.
37. Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.,* p. 5.
38. Children of craftmen often began their learning of craft at ages six or seven. See Demos, *A Little Commonwealth,* p. 147, and see Robert Bremner, John Barnard, Tamara K. Hareven, Robert M. Mennel, *Children and Youth in American, A Documentary History,* Vo. 1: 1600–1865 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 103. Also see Edith Abbott, "A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 14 (July, 1908, pp. 16–19.) In his study of seventeenth-century Plymouth, Demos concluded that a limited occupational range influenced the son of an artisan to adopt his father's craft. He noted that ". . . the artisan class (was) relatively small, and the vast majority of the populace was engaged in simple farming. In the typical case, therefore, the choice of a calling was scarcely a choice at all; instead, it was something assumed, something everywhere implicit in the child's surroundings and in the whole process of growth." (Demos, *A Little Commonwealth,* p. 147) This analysis echoes Copley's experience. Copley's art career was also characterized by an absence of an "awkward age." The concept of rebellion against his mother or stepfather would have been alien to him. See Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passages: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977) Chapter One.
39. Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman, (New York: New York University Press, 1950), pp. 66, 98–102.*
40. *Oscar Handlin, Facing Life: Youth and Family in American History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), p. 19.
41. Anne Allison, "Peter Pelham, Engraver in Mezzotinto," *Antiques,* 52 (December, 1947), pp. 441–443.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *A Report of the Record Commissioners,* Boston Records, Selectmen's Minutes, December 28, 1737.

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44. Two of Pelham's children from a previous marriage also served as private teachers. In 1743, Peter Pelham, Jr. advertised in the Boston Examining Post as a "Tutor . . . on the Harpsichord or Spinnet . . . (and) to Teach the Rudiments of Psalmody, Hymns, Anthems." In 1754, Charles Pelham notified the public he had opened a dancing school. See Robert F. Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston* (Cambridge, Mas.: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 31 and p. 39.
45. Bremner, *Children and Youth,* Vol. I., p. 82. Also Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston,* pp. 3–10. Seybolt noted that girls and boys of any age were welcome in the private schools. In general, private school education was occupationally oriented. See Clifford K. Shipton, "The Secondary Education in the Puritan Colonies," *New England Quarterly,* 7 (December, 1934), p. 658.
46. Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston,* p. 23.
47. Boston Gazette, Jan. 30–Feb. 6, 1737/38. Boston Weekly Newsletter, Nov. 9–16, 1732; April 5–11, 11–18, 18–25, 1735. Boston Gazette, Feb. 26–Mar. 4, 1727–28; Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal, Aug. 4, 1747; Boston, Evening Post, Sept. 24, Oct. 1, 1750. See Seybolt, *The Private Schools,* p. 29.
48. Seybolt, *The Private Schools,* p. 29.
49. The following studies probably belonged to Pelham or John Smibert and included Count Francesco Algorotti, *Letters upon Painting;* Roger dePiles, *Abrege de la Vie des I. Paintings* or *The Principles of Painting;* Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England;* Daniel Webb, *An Inquiry in the Beauties of Painting;* George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting,* and James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture.* Together, these works provided Copley with an historical overview of his profession. It must have been inspirational and reassuring to read about the importance of artists to the cultures of Rome and Greece. See Jules Prown, *Copley,* Vol. 1, p. 16.

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Featured Review

Featured Reviews are especially provocative discussions of highly significant works. They appear on a recurring basis. (Review Editor).

JASPER RIDLEY, *Statesman and Saint: Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, and the Politics of Henry VIII.* New York: The Viking Press, 1983. [xiv] + 338 pp. $20.75; J. A. GUY, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More.* Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980. xii + 220 pp. £20 and $22.50. ALISTAIR FOX, *Thomas More: History and Providence.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. xii + 271 pp. $19.95.

There was a natural affinity between the biographical mode and the Christian humanists of the sixteenth century. Asking about the nature of the individual human personality, they were fascinated by the many different roles that one person might perform, and they were attracted to those areas where the personal and the social, the individual and the historic moment, and life and art met. The young Thomas More translated Giovanni Francesco Pico's life of his uncle, Pico della Mirandola; and a later work, *The History of King Richard III,* is also, in some sense, a biography. Later still, More commissioned a family portrait, by Holbein, that could be thought of as a group biography, so brilliantly are the figures and their interaction represented. But, then as now, More's own life, character, and personality—which he shaped and reshaped in both his writings and his life—have proven more fascinating still. As early as 1517, a friend, Richard Pace, included an

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informal sketch of the clever young humanist in his *De Fructu.* The definitive portrait of More as humanist, however, proved to be Erasmus', written as a letter to a friend, Ulrich von Hutten, in 1519. By focusing on More's personality and the telling detail and combining classical models with classical and Christian ideals filtered through a humanistic consciousness, Erasmus gave the world a new kind of hero. The More he portrayed was a good friend, a loving son, husband, and father, and a valued administrator, well-rounded, witty, steeped in good letters (not pseudo-learning), devoted to the humane and godly, able to find pleasure in all human relations, and willing to serve his society without self-aggrandisement, on the one hand, or retreat to the monastery on the other. Erasmus took particular pains to evoke a characteristically humanist stance: "None is less guided by the opinion of the herd, but again none is less remote from the common feelings of humanity."

Erasmus wrote a decade before More became Lord Chancellor and before the religious and political turmoil of the late 1520's and early 1530's that led to More's trial for treason and his death on Tower Hill on July 6, 1535. A second biographical tradition, reacting to these events, emerged in the course of the sixteenth century, initiated by Roper's life of More (written in the 1550's but not printed until 1626). Roper was More's son-in-law and had lived with him for over sixteen years; like Erasmus, then, Roper spoke from personal knowledge and was interested in the personality and character of More. His More was "a man of singular virtue and of a clear unspotted conscience," and a hagiographic tone colors all that he wrote, although, if we read between the lines, we can detect some of the ways that More controlled passions and emotions Roper never discussed directly.

These two traditions did not go wholly unchallenged, either in the sixteenth century or later; More's opponents were quick to challenge his own self-charactertization, for example. But the images that were created—of humanist and saint or martyr—have continued to dominate our view of More until very reently. The three works under review, all published between 1980 and 1983 (a fourth biography, by Richard Marius, is announced for Fall 1984 publication by Knopf) are, in this respect, signs of what promises to be a new era in More studies. There are several reasons for this. To begin with, the psychological aspect of both Erasmus' portrait and Roper's is inadequate from a modern perspective. Historical knowledge of a particularly complex period has much increased as a result of the work of a number of historians, notably G. R. Elton. Many of More's works are easily accessible for the

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first time, thanks to the Yale edition, now nearing completion. Finally, there is an obvious disenchantment with either the humanist or the saint as a viable mythos for people today.

To a different degree all three books question or attack long cherished myths. But Jasper Ridley's *Statesman and Saint* is by far the most iconoclastic. It was published in England in 1982 as the *Statesman and the Fanatic,* and this title more accurately indicates the polemical purpose of a book that seeks to undo the usual perceptions of Wolsey and More as unscrupulous politician and saint. Its thesis, much repeated, is an elaboration of its earlier title: that "Wolsey, for all his faults—and he had many—was a great statesman, a man of natural dignity with a generous temperament, who preserved a relatively tolerant régime until he fell from power and was succeeded by More" (p. xi). More, on the other hand, "was the worst kind of intolerant fanatic, an idealist gone astray, who began as a brilliant intellectual but developed first into a sycophantic courtier and then into a persecuting bigot, before he redeemed himself, at the eleventh hour, by a brave if muted stand for his principles which cost him his life" (p. xi). Ridley understandably calls attention to one of the most problematic aspects of More's life, his attitude towards and treatment of heresy and heretics. More himself lumped heretics with thieves and murderers as enemies of the commonwealth, and there is no doubt that he was "far more zealous" than Wolsey (p. 253). Yet Ridley so overstates his case and skews the data that his assertions often are suspect.

Writing for a broad reading public, he is little interested in theory as such, and takes for granted a concept of history as the work of great men. He tells his readers a great deal about the events of early sixteenth century Europe by relying upon narrative sweep and details that are interesting in themselves but that overwhelm and are sometimes extraneous to the story he is telling. For his larger structure he depends upon the comparison and contrast he is establishing between Wolsey and More. Superficially, such a comparison seems viable. The two men were almost exact contemporaries; both served Henry VIII and became Lord Chancellor and both incurred the King's displeasure, although Wolsey died before he was brought to trial. But Wolsey was Lord Chancellor for almost fifteen years and he was first and foremost a politician. More was Chancellor for only two and a half years under very different circumstances, and, although he was ambitious, politics was never his whole life. Thus Ridley too often measures More by rules and values that (at best) ill fit a far more complex and many-faceted person than Wolsey. Even quantitatively, moreover, Wol-

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sey dominates the text. After several chapters where Ridley moves from one man to the other, there are five chapters on Wolsey and two on More, before an obviously provocative summation. Wolsey, he concludes, is the prototype of the "balanced, cynical, efficient administrator and power-politician" (p. 293), who "could easily have adapted himself to life in the twentieth century," becoming a leading corporation executive or a member of the Politburo. By contrast, he claims a twentieth-century More would have turned "into a fanatic determined to crush what he considers to be the forces of evil," justifying "by specious arguments, the liquidation of millions of human beings" (p. 293). To prove this, or to try to (at some point surely most readers will feel that he protests too much) Ridley uses innuendoes or slanted language to exonerate or exalt Wolsey and denigrate More. We hear, for example, that "While Thomas Wolsey, overcoming all handicaps and setbacks, was single-mindedly devoting his energies and abilities in advancing his career, Thomas More, with advantages which Wolsey would have envied, could not make up his mind what career he wished to choose—still less could he decide what career God wished him to choose" (p. 29). His defense of Wolsey's policies sometimes amounts to a left-handed compliment, however, as when he writes that Wolsey "may have been responsible for the deaths of many soldiers killed in wars and of women and children left to starve to death in their devastated villages in the Boulonnais and in Teviotdale . . . but he was not responsible for the deaths of heretics" (p. 164). Thus Ridley's study is fundamentally flawed. While strong portraits of the two men are created, they are too one-dimensional to carry conviction, and the value judgements he makes are muddled.

Like Jasper Ridley, John Guy is an historian. The two men also share a more specific interest in Thomas Wolsey; Guy turned to More after an extensive study of Wolsey's domestic policies, particularly as they led to the development of Star Chamber as a court. It would be hard to think of a book so different in almost every way from Ridley's than *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More,* however. Guy is an historian's historian, who assumes an extensive knowledge of the history of the period and stands as close as he can to the archival record of sixteenth-century England. Because More's official papers have not survived, Guy's task was especially difficult. He could only build up a picture of More's public career by combing the "entire gamut of public records" (p. ix), including the voluminous Chancery Court Proceedings, a job he undertook while he was an Assistant Keeper of Public Records. With those materials in hand (and with the work of Elton

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and other historians in the background), he began to puzzle out the story of More's relationships with Wolsey, the King, and other members of Court and Council, using the records of Henry VIII, Wolsey, Cromwell, Chapuys (Charles V's ambassador), etc., as so many controls. Avoiding the sweeping generalizations that characterize *Statesman and Saint,* and preferring understatement and caution to polemic, Guy scrupulously provides a context and material that address some of Ridley's charges. For Guy is also concerned with the public side of More and writes with two purposes in mind: to explore this aspect comprehensively and to assess More's actual achievement. He does assess More's last few years in a brief two-page conclusion and clarifies his final stance vis-a-vis More, seen here as earning a place "among the very few who have enlarged the horizon of the human spirit" (p. 203). Most of his work, however, consists of documentary evidence—much of it available for the first time—for the activities of More's years as a servant of the Crown, and seven of his nine chapters are concerned with the two and a half years that More held the Lord Chancellorship.

Guy divides More's career into three parts. A short Part One is devoted to the earlier stages of More's public life; Part Two is concerned with his legal activities, and the third section is about More's role in the factional politics that characterize the still too-little understood period between 1529 and 1532. Guy's first section refutes at least one traditional myth, for which Erasmus and More himself were in part responsible, that More was dragged unwillingly to court. We also see the makings of a legal career that was already well underway by 1510, when More was appointed an undersheriff of London, an office that he held until 1518, a year after he became a member of the King's Council. Guy is particularly informative on More's actual duties as a royal councillor. These included serving as a "resident humanist" for the King, diplomatic and judicial work, and service as a royal secretary. As such, he occupied a position of "extreme trust" (p. 18) but had little real influence. Especially interesting, in view of Ridley's dual biography, is Guy's assessment of the relationship between Wolsey and More. By virtue of his position under Wolsey as secretary to Henry VIII, More "came near to becoming Wolsey's 'man at court' " (p. 18), though he might not have been conscious of this. Nor was he ever Wolsey's protégé and he was opposed to Wolsey's so-called peace policy, which was actually a policy of war. It is Guy's best surmise, then, that the "cardinal capitalized wholesale on More's scrupulousness . . . and ability to harmonize the desires of king and minister without doing violence to either" (p. 23). He suspects, too, that, to

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Wolsey, More's intellectual brilliance would have seemed like a threat: "Brilliant and ambitious (as it seemed), yet discreet and austerely religious, More was too complex for the cardinal" (p. 23). But if More was an enigma, he was also an astute administrator, and his efficiency, his eye for detail, and his skill in law stood him in good stead when he was appointed to the Lord Chancellorship in 1529.

The four chapters that constitute the second part of the book amply confirm this image of the astute magistrate. Guy shows in miniscule detail the nature of More's daily work in the courts and his overall policy, separating fact from literary traditions initiated by Roper. In general, More implemented policies begun by Wolsey in chancery and Star Chamber with one important difference: "Whereas Wolsey had run his courts as an extension of his personality, More appeared to use them as an official blueprint for the future of English royal justice" (p. 85). To put this another way, More was more practical and less innovative than Wolsey, streamlining procedures and effecting "a smooth transition from the age of clerical to that of common-law chancellors" (p. 93). Guy's larger point is an important one in any estimation of More's character: "Sir Thomas More was not only meant to be a lawyer, he was that above all else" (p. 93).

The last half of Guy's study, which traces the complicated political maneuverings among individuals and factions between October 1529 and May 1532, is essential reading for an understanding of the political More. Yet no summary can even begin to do justice to Guy's day-by-day and month-by-month account of a situation that (from More's point of view) was at best precarious, at worst, impossible. To begin with, More was a compromise candidate, chosen, in part, because, unlike Wolsey, he was a layman. He had the necessary expertise in law, administraiton, and diplomacy, but he had no power base. As Henry VIII's good servant, moreover, he would be called upon to show publically his support of policies—notably the King's proposed divorce—that he could not support privately. By June, 1530, More was already formally excluded from certain policy sessions and by 1531 there were rumors that he might resign. As Guy observes, "The wonder is surely not that More would ultimately fail, but that he ever believed he might succeed" (p. 112). Guy also suggests miscalculation of character and event on the part of both the King and his Lord Chancellor, the former thinking he could induce More to change his mind on the divorce issue, the latter relying too much on the King's orthodoxy and innate conservatism and underestimating potential shifts between and among the Crown, the Council, and Parliament.

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In the earier part of More's term in office, Norfolk was the most powerful figure (after Henry VIII); by the end of it, Cromwell was. These men represent two of the three factions that attempted to control Henry VIII's policy, the one made up of aristocrats who were religiously conservative and had opposed Wolsey, the other promoting radical ideas and interested in taming the clergy as a way to shape future royal policy. Guy shows that More was the principal spokesman for a third group, the Aragonese party. Supporting Queen Catherine and united against heresy, they were strong defenders of the traditional church. More's position, like that of the Aragonese party in general, was a defensive one; loyal to the old order, the group leaked to the Queen and Chapuys news of intended government moves and carried on an extensive propaganda campaign, writing polemical treatises aginst the divorce (Fisher) and heresy (More). More's most visible role, then, was his part in the campaign waged against heresy, implementing official government policy but earning public odium as well. Carefully weighing all the evidence of More's activity, Guy shows that More "was personally involved in detecting three out of the six cases of heresy which resulted in execution during his chancellorship" (pp. 166–67) and acted irregularly in one of these. He also enforced the censorship of heretical writings with unprecedented intensity. Thus More's political credit was "inextricably linked" to that of the bishops. But More and the party he represented were also increasingly isolated and his position became untenable as the radical group, directed by Cromwell, won the factional battle for political control. More—whose opposition to the King had become overt—resigned as "an admission of political defeat" and "an act of public defiance" (p. 201). But his very presence was "an intolerable threat" to a regime intent on following the implications of a new view of regal powers.

Like Guy, Fox has been influenced by Elton's view of Henrician England. And his More is also a political being. Challenging old myths throughout his work, he argues that "the saintly image that so impressed More's own family masked a deeply involved political activism of which they were barely aware" (p. 2). Indeed, he goes beyond the generally agreed upon limits of that activism, devoting a chapter to an analysis of More's continued opposition to the policies of Henry VIII *after* his resignation. In other words, he feels that More's last polemic works are covert political pieces, written in hopes of retarding the government's reform policy. But Fox's academic home is in the Department of English, not history. And he is more interested in the private or inner More, writing what the dust-jacket rightly calls "the

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first comprehensive account of Thomas More's intellectual career." Choosing what clearly is a central idea in More's writings, he reads all of them in the light of More's sense of the world and of the ways that God works in it. In fact, though he does not use the term, Fox has written a "literary biography," that is a "comprehensive case study of as much of both the life and the work as is possible, the work seen as various versions of a continuous and changing definition of the self" (see James Gindin, "Method in the Biographical Study of Virginia Woolf," *Biography,* 4 [1981], 104). Fox puts his intention this way: "In the course of his works one can trace the process by which he reconciled the diverse aspects of his own personality and life within a comprehensive view of the human situation" (p. 5). He points, too, to "a steady progression in the evolution of his thought, not a disjunction" (p. 3), and integrates More's outer life with his inner being.

Fox divides More's admittedly complex and often paradoxical life and writings into three periods. The first, including his youth and mid-career, ends with the penitential *Four Last Things* (1522), just before More reluctantly became involved in religious controversy by invitation of the King. The second period ends in late 1533, and is dominated by More's voluminous polemical writings. The third, beginning just prior to his imprisonment, includes his *Treatise upon the Passion* and the Tower writings. Fox's young More is a "man of extremes" (p. 10), who had to struggle to integrate the various complicated aspects of his being. Unduly pessimistic and optimistic by turns, anxious to flee from the world, on the one hand, and attracted to it on the other, More only gradually learned to balance the tragic and the comic sides of his being "without excluding or suppressing either." Early signs of his success are his translation of the Pico biography and his discovery of Lucian and the ironic mode, and Fox's interpretations of these and More's later writings show both a fine literary critic and a sensitive biographer at work. Fox finds more substantial proof of a Morean synthesis in the *Utopia,* which he reads from an autobiographical and a paradoxical perspective. That is, he stresses the *Utopia* as a dramatization of two responses to the world and would agree with other readers who feel that both Hythlodaeus and the Morus of the dialogue are More, albeit in an extremely complex way. He also shows how More creates an image and critiques it at the same time, being well aware of the irrational consequences of even the most rational action and of the "sinfulness of human nature" (p. 57), yet knowing, too, that if we cannot make all things well, we can at least make them less bad. Dating *Richard III* after *Utopia,* Fox reads this as a tragic var-

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iant of the providential themes which More handles in *Utopia*. *Richard III* shows, in extreme form, the circumstances that surround all political action, and Fox points out the Augustinian strain in More's thinking. By Fox's reading, *The Four Last Things*, a dark Lenten piece, represents a pivotal moment in More's life, as More begins to lose the earlier Utopian synthesis and adapts a more reactionary position, perhaps shocked by the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, retreating to the dualities of his youth as he does so.

Part Two traces the progressive deterioration of More's private self in the course of the controversies he waged (at first reluctantly) with Luther and other reformers. Fox argues that More did change at this point from a cautious liberal to an ultra-reactionary (p. 118), and he shows how More's preoccupations became obsessive and came close to destroying him. More had a horror of civil violence; for him reform meant renewal rather than reformation (p. 179). But he also knew that reform was needed, and in defending every aspect of the *status quo* he became increasingly violent and dogmatic. It is Fox's further contention that, "By continuing to write one book after another, he was seeking to prove a central, private conviction: that human imperfection was no cause for despair or desperately radical action . . . because God had created the postlapsarian world to be instrumental in its imperfection rather than perfectible" (pp. 145–46). Yet the direction that events took in the 1520's and '30's seemed to undermine More's faith in God's providentiality.

But More recovered from his "potential despair" (p. 4). Once again reassessing the meaning of history, he apprehended the deeper significance of trial and tribulation and reaffirmed his faith in providentiality as he udnerstood it. Some of the overt signs of the recovery are the calm and humor that recur in his last writings, his return to dialogue and representation rather than exposition, and the control and distance he achieved by meditating upon human history through the image of Christ crucified. But the final evidence is More's death. As Fox puts it, "Through literal self-sacrifice he could proclaim himself ultimately right in the face of manifest defeat" (p. 255).

Although they are, otherwise, very different, these studies by Ridley, Guy, and Fox share a concern for the political and public More, thereby looking at the man in his historical context. They also have set out to demystify or at least demythologize the too-simple heroic image of the humanist or saint that the Renaissance created. Ridley's attempt, if unconvincing and wholly negative, is useful insofar as it defines one extreme. But both Guy and Fox have given us fresh, sym-

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pathetic, and subtle portraits of a more complex, but also more comprehensive and comprehensible figure whose problems and dilemmas we can sympathize with, even when we disagree with a particular action or assertion. Their portraits are mutually illuminating, moreover, and (at times) correct each other's focus. For Guy looks almost exclusively at the public More and there are moments when Fox may have overstated the personal element in More's writings. We need both portraits, then, and still others, to arrive at a fuller sense of a Thomas More who remains a man for all seasons.

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E. PEARLMAN

Typological Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century England

During the revolutionary upheavals in seventeenth-century England, writing about the self took many shapes, such as religious confessions, memoirs, *res gestae* narrations, advice to children, journals, and diaries.[1] None of these modes can be considered a truly autobiographical genre. Hence the autobiographical impulse found expression by attaching itself to a variety of traditional forms. One such form, seemingly opposed to autobiography and yet extraordinarily appealing to some temperaments, was the ancient method of typology.[2] It was the commonest of seventeenth-century commonplaces, a system in which events of the Old Testament were regarded as prefigurations of their fulfillment in the antitypes of the New. Jonah's three days in the belly of the great fish stand for the three days between the crucifixion and the resurrection, while the rock struck by Moses in the desert foreshadows the spritual rock that was Christ. For artists of religious sympathies as opposed as Herbert and Milton, typology was a potent resource. With a word or phrase, the poet could evoke the full resonance of tradition. He could also employ the comparisons implicit in the typological mode to clarify personal identity. In a number of Herbert's most autobiographical poems, the persona advances from material to spiritual perceptions, transforming himself into a contemporary neotype of a preceding type.[3] Milton's Samson is a type of Christ, himself suffering for larger ends, so that when, in the *Areopagitica*, Milton envisions the people of England as a "noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks,"[4] the community itself becomes a type of Samson.

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Time is collapsed and history abrogated so that England may fulfill biblical prescription. Not a fiction but a genuine historical event served Milton as a neotype. Typology was not merely a convention of biblical exegesis, but a technique for disposing life itself into comprehensible shape.

The penetration of biography by typology in seventeenth-century England is well illustrated by Lucy Hutchinson's life of her husband.[5] Colonel John Hutchinson succeeded in maintaining Parliamentary control of Nottingham Castle, even though it lay in a strongly royalist part of England. Deeply committed to the reforming even of reformation itself, Hutchinson was a signer of the death warrant of Charles I. He spent the 1650s largely in retirement, but, like Milton and others associated with the regicide, he was at serious risk after the Restoration. It was then that the Colonel's hard-headed wife did what conscience prevented Hutchinson himself from doing. Without his permission and above his name, Lucy Hutchinson wrote to the Speaker of the Commons to express "penitent sorrow"[6] for the part the Colonel had played in the death of the king. The apology apparently won Hutchinson the four years of freedom which he spent quietly at Owthorpe. But in October of 1663, during another turbulent period, Hutchinson was suspected of involvement in the Northern Plot. He was imprisoned first in the Tower, then at Sandown Castle in Kent, where he died in the autumn of 1664.

Not long after, the tenacious Lucy Hutchinson began to compose her remarkable defense and celebration of her husband. The *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* is a strong and intelligent biography. It is factually detailed and closely argued. Never does it abandon the aggressive tone that Mrs. Hutchinson adopted to justify the actions of the Colonel to a world sadly diminished by the collapse of the revolution. The flowers of rhetoric are hardly the province of so practical a woman, but Mrs. Hutchinson does grant herself one brief imaginative moment. Turning her attention to a period early in her husband's life, when he had temporarily withdrawn from the political world, she offered a comparison conventional in her own time but surprising to us:

> it [her husband's retirement] seems to me not unlike the preparation of Moses in the wilderness with his father in law, where it is thought he writt the books of Genesis, and some believe that of Job.

A modern reader cannot fail to be struck by what appears to be a significant lapse of decorum—a similitude bordering on idolatry. Mrs.

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Hutchinson pursued the parallel without embarrassment. Both Moses and Colonel John Hutchinson, she asserted, were "sequester'd from Pharaoh's Court" yet were able to lead "God's people out of bondage." Shining through the extended comparison is an unrealized revolutionary potential:

> Mr. Hutchinson lived in his mother in law's house, had two sons there borne, was sequester'd from a wicked court and country into a solitude not unpleasant, exercis'd himselfe in contemplation of the first workes and discoveries of God. Here he beheld the burning bush still unconsum'd, here had a call to goe back to deliver his country, groaning under spirituall and civill bondage.

In her hands the analogy becomes both a pattern and a consolation: the "miscarriages" of both the biblical type and the modern neotype are remembered "with bleeding hearts." When Hutchinson is compared to the "greate Hebrew Prince," it seems almost as though the ancient myth overwhelms contemporary events, and the similitude becomes more substantial than recent history.

> If we may allegorize the eminent place of suffering into which God call'd him up att last, there it was in the bleake mountains of affliction that the Lord instructed him in his law, and shew'd him a patterne of his glorious tabernacle, and gave him a fuller discovery of his person. To one of these he was led up to see the promis'd land, and had a soule-refreshing view of it: such a one as made him forgett on what side of the river he stood, while by faith he tooke possession of future glory, and resign'd himselfe in the assured hope of returning with the Lord and his greate Armie of Saints. (35–36)

After exhausting the parallel, Mrs. Hutchinson resumed the historical narrative.

The typological comparison is at first intrusive and strange, but eventually reveals both its literary and psychological purposes. The identification of Hutchinson with Moses confirms the truth of the revolutionary enterprise and compensates for the disappointment of its failure by invoking a parallel suffering, and consequently gives form and purpose to the events of Colonel Hutchinson's life. The deployment of a typological comparison is also an emblem of a mentality different from ours (in the ready availability of biblical models and the easy recourse to analogical thinking, for example). The comparison to Moses also serves as a reminder that the mental world of the seventeenth century is one in which biblical precedents appeared with a consistency dazzling to us who live in a secular universe. Theirs was a

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world where the Lord himself did not disdain routine intervention at moments of psychological distress. Such miracles are now largely ceased, and the boundaries that separate sane from insane behavior have been redrawn. But the major figures of this essay—the typological autobiographers Arise Evans, Francis Bampfield, Lodowick Muggleton—are enthusiasts who cast themselves as contemporary neotypes of biblical figures. They live not only in the territory delimited by Mrs. Hutchinson, where sane people define themselves, in part, by their relation to ancient precedent, but also in that borderland where people dream dreams and see visions. Theirs is a world populated not only with fanatics and lunatics, but also with prophets and innovative theologians. It is also, for better or worse, the world in which new religions take shape.

Because typological thinking was so ordinary and commonplace, it was easy for a deeply religious person to identify with a biblical figure. James Naylor's idolatrous entrance into Bristol, on horseback, in October of 1656 was a comprehensible, if notorious typological act. (Naylor was reputed to have said that "Christ was a Type, and but a Type.")[7] Three female companions preceded him, singing "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel." Naylor's contemporaries interpreted this not as madness but as blasphemy, and the fury of their reaction signals the fragility of their beliefs.[8] Autobiography was a form in which typological expressions were frequent. In *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners,* John Bunyan asserted a number of parallels between biblical figures and himself. Hearing a sermon provided spiritual consolation, "but alas! within less then forty days I began to question all again."[9] The numerical reference establishes a connection between his wanderings and those of Moses and Christ. The *Narration of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton*[10] is a polemical tract designed to make political capital out of the author's sufferings. Burton, "the watchman of Israel," was one of those unfortunate sectaries on whom the deep barbarity of the age was visited. He was lashed, pilloried, imprisoned, mutilated. Just as Hutchinson echoes Moses, and Bunyan Christ, so Burton compares himself in meticulous detail to Paul. He triumphed over his enemies by finding thirteen similarities between his life and that of his model, and fourteen instances in which Paul's sufferings were exceeded by his own. Burton was convinced that he "underwent the most terrible Censure that ever was inflicted in the world"—worse than Paul's because the times are now more perilous. "Antichrist was then but a cockatrice in the egge; but now he is broke out, and growne to be a great red Dragon" (37). Mistreatment analogous to the saint's helped

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Burton to find his place in history and confirm the truth of his ministry.

In these cases, examples of which could be multiplied endlessly, the typological gesture is momentary or decorative. There is also a separate class of autobiographies where the narrative (or the life itself) is dictated and controlled by an explicit typology. A minor example is the curious composition of the parliamentary general Sir William Waller, whose autobiography is organized not chronologically, but around Pauline themes.[11] Echoing II Corinthians 12:3–10, he says

> I may say, with the Apostle, glorying, as he did, of the things which concern mine infirmityes. I have been IN PRISONS FREQUENT. (104)

Under this heading Waller recalls the series of imprisonments he endured. This and other topics—"by great sicknesses," "by hassards in warr," "in perills in the city"—organize Waller's experience. Subservience to so artificial a pattern neither confines nor distresses him.

The three works to be examined in this essay are similar to Waller's in that each subordinates individuality to historical precedent. Arise Evans sometimes compared himself to Paul, but also saw himself as a neotype of Christ. Francis Bampfield's autobiography consists of alternate paragraphs, the first of which refers to Paul, the second to a parallel situation or event in his own life. Lodowick Muggleton's *Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* is designed in title and structure as an analogue to the *Acts of the Apostles* and is in fact composed in chapter and verse. Each of these works is only partly autobiographical, and in discussing them it has been necessary to distort the whole by concentrating on passages of self-revelation, and even within that framework, on the events which lead up to the establishment of a mature personality. In this toe-in-the-water prosopographical exercise, it is possible to search out similarities in these people which may explain their adoption of a typological method, and in the process shed some light on the mentality of England's last pre-Enlightenment generation.

I

Arise Evans' autobiography, *An Ecchoe to the Book, Called a Voice from Heaven* (1653), is always intense but frequently daft and occasionally lunatic.[12] Evans was the least complex of the three subjects of this essay, and his personality, like his literary method, not far from naive. The *Ecchoe* presents with minimal dissimulation situations which more sophisticated writers might have portrayed in symbolic or highly rationalized forms.

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The frankness with which Evans acknowledges his models undercuts the implicit vainglory.

> I suppose such an account as S.Paul sometime gave to the people, is expected from me, that is in some measure a Narration of my Whole Life, and especially of my calling to this Worke.

Evans' loyalty to Paul was anything but rigid. Inasmuch as he was deeply persuaded that Charles II was analogous to Christ, it followed with undeniable logic that Evans, prophet of the return of Charles to the throne, must also be a neotype of John the Baptist:

> For so indeed I am sent before King Charles, to prepare a people to receive him, as S. John was sent of old to prepare the way of the Lord Jesus, the case is the same. . . .

Under these guises, Evans represents himself as being in direct contact with the numinous, one to whom the Lord has made known his purposes. The intent of his autobiography is to show that he is indeed a true prophet

The *Ecchoe* offers some insights into Evans' choice of the typological mode. Literary convention is predicated on an interior private psychology. Rhys Evans was born in Llangellynin, Merionethshire in 1607, a contemporary therefore of John Milton. Until his seventh year, though a younger child, he had been his father's favorite, convinced that "God had designed me for some great work." But the special security of the elect ended with the death of his father:

> But in the midst of my jollity a Cloud comes over me, death takes away my father before *I* was seaven yeares old, and now he forgets me at his death, that was his delight a little before; and making his last Will, he leaves a Portion to all his Children by Name, and to many of his kindred some a farre off, for he did abound in riches; but *I* was not so much as mentioned in his Will, neither anything left for mee, so that I came soon to know the folly of vaine confidence in men; and now my brethren who afore envied me began to glory over mee, saying, I had nothing to do among them, and what was I but a begger; and many wondred at it, and pitied me, saying, had my Father forgot his darling? (3)

The poignancy of deprivation is rendered not sentimentally, but realistically. Evans suffered a series of losses. Once protected and secure, he now became an object of scorn. Deprived of his class position and contemned as a "begger," he learned "the folly of vaine confidence in men." The loss was psychologically disastrous. "Tossed from place to place to do any drugery, as a forlorne child" (4), as he perhaps overdra-

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matically put it, Evans considered taking his own life. An "ancient maidservant" (4) came upon him contemplating suicide in order, he says very clearly, to find his way back to his father. She rebuked him severely, telling him that this was merely the path to eternal damnation, and that the appropriate response to the loss of his father was to re-direct his thoughts to the Almighty. The transfer of feeling from father to God is a rare theogonic record.

> How canst thou (said shee) go to thy father that is dead? said I, Yes, that *I* can, it is but thrusting a Knife into my Belly, and then *I* shall die and go to my father. Then said she, O child, no; thy father is gone to Heaven, but if thou make away thy selfe, thou wilt go to Hell; thou must thinke upon God continually, and not think such thoughts. Said *I*, How can that be? Do you think upon God continually? She said, Yes, that I do, at every time I draw my breath *I* think upon God. Said *I* to my self, It is rare, if it be true. . . . *I* resolved to make it my whole work, to think on God continually. (4)

The easy availability of a patriarchal deity may have rescued Evans from self-destruction and at the same time confirmed in him the habit of anticipating a supernatural solution to sublunary difficulties. His theology remained marvellously uncomplicated. It was never more than an uncluttered scaffolding around which psychological needs could be readily organized. In this case, "God" is the unmysterious compensation of a grieving and deracinated child. It is no exaggeration to say that Evans spent a lifetime trying to replace his temporal father with a God (or king) who would not disappoint his trust.

Some years later, in early adolescence, Evans enjoyed his first major mystical experience. Taking his cue partly from local folklore and partly from the example of the prophets, Evans climbed to the top of a mountain, "crying with a loud Voyce to God for Grace, Wisdome and understanding" (5). His prayers were answered:

> Through the fervency of my prayer, and vehemency of the winde and clouds I was lifted above the Earth, and carried up a space in the Clouds. (6)

The boundary between typological modelling, hallucination, and sheer lunacy is difficult to establish. Evans' transparent need to generate a substitute father issued in a remarkable assertion:

> God hath a purpose to make me like his sonne in opening the Mysteries of Scriptures, although the Pharises of this time will not acknowledge the verity of it. (7)

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The covert argument is simple: my father has abandoned me and I am no longer a son; I am still one of the elect; I am therefore God's son.

For some years Evans lived in London, prospering at his trade, while the prophetic commitment remained dormant. But the childhood visions gradually became more frequent and more imperious. In 1633, a sermon on Jacob wrestling with the angel illuminated him. Taking up the scriptures, his bibliolatrous eye fell on a text—"Awake thou that sleepest"—which demanded a new spiritual commitment. The word of God suddenly took on new meaning. "*Within three days* I had all the *Scriptures* at command" (11). He was charged to deliver a specific message: "that the *King* and *Kingdom was to be destroyed suddenly*" (11). When he was reluctant to take on his destined calling, he was startled by a new and threatening vision.

> *I beheld the Angel of the Lord all in white, standing upon the shop board with a flaming Sword ready to destroy me.* (13).

The threat to the king aroused and recapitulated the same fears as the earlier loss of his father. Evans' public concerns echoed and amplified his private myth.

Impelled by such visions, Evans hovered at the edges of court in order to awaken the endangered. He claimed to have delivered messages to the King, to Cromwell, and to the Earl of Essex. Those who thought him daft now found an ally in his mother. Once, when he visited at Wrexham, she had him overpowered and locked in a room in her house. Identification with Christ helped him through the ordeal. "Taking [his confinement] to be unto me a similitude of my *Saviours grave I rested confident that I should be delivered the third day*" (20). According to Evans, his family accepted this particular delusion, and came to recognize that it had no authority over him, because "he was not to be of the corrupt *seed*, but of God, upon whom he was cast, as to his right *Father*" (22). Evans would have his readers believe that his family assented to his claim to a special relationship with God. This is difficult to accept, though it is understandable why he would wish to be so acknowledged. The acquisition of a new father compensated for an earlier loss, while a typology which explains has been superseded by a typology which predicts.

Typological form also governed Evans' peculiar relations with women. The nature of his marriage cannot be communicated without lengthy quotation.

> In the meane time there was a maid of that Towne, which I did perceive loved mee with more tender love, than ever my *Mother* did, but *I*

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thought not to marry at all, yet considering her great *love,* that it was of God, and that I could not do the Worke of God without her (for said *I,* when I am cast into Prison upon such high terms, who dares *venture* to do anything for me, but *shee* that *loves* me so dearly?) I asked the question of her, whether she would be my Wife or no, and after some time to consider of it, she said, *yea;* then said I, if you will be my *Wife,* you must consider two things; first *you must never contradict me, but follow me wither soever I go, to do this great worke of God.* Secondly you must not enjoy me these three years, for now *I* must go to *London* and there be put in Prison, where I shall remaine three years; for I saw the Minde of God, that the three days *my Mother detained me* did signifie three years imprisonment, that I should suffer under my *spirituall Mother;* there shall you come unto me, and be *a means* to have me *out,* and then shall we enjoy one another: and she consented thereunto, and we were privately Married, and I left her at Wrexam. (24)

The intent of this passage is to strengthen Evans' claim to the gift of prophecy: he "saw the Minde of God." Events are typologically governed. House arrest at his mother's hands became an archetype which predicts his resurrection. To fulfill the model which he has established for himself, it was necessary to transform the government itself into his *"spiritual Mother."* At the same time, the prohibitions he attached to the marriage relationship are staggering. He demanded total obedience from his wife, a requirement which both reflects and externalizes his own conviction that he was a totally obedient servant of the Lord: he for God only, she for God in him. A second condition was even more stringent. Though married, she "must not enjoy me these three years" (nor he her, presumably. The absence of reciprocity is precious). The sexual prohibition may be linked to the identification of wife with mother, but its sources are obscure. It seems to be designed to reinforce the parallel with Jesus, also unknown to women; to lay claim to prestige through abstinence; or to avenge himself for his mistreatment at the hands of women. It is a mysterious irrationality darkly indebted to typological precedent.

Evans' behavior gradually became more provocative. He arrived at London preaching that *"the* King *must suffer, and be put to Death and* Kingdom *destroyed"* (25). When he was betrayed by a "Judas" (27), and arrested, he announced to an examining official that he knew "*they would put me in Prison,* where I should remaine three yeares" (28). "Fully satisfied," it was a "Paradise" (29) to be in jail. Despite the complacency, which must have proved awkward to his captors, he was released as a "distracted" person. Gradually, he gained a modest reputation as a holy prophet-madman. In *Gangraena,* that great compen-

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dium of gossip, Thomas Edwards recorded that Evans had "maintained [him]self to be Christ."[13] In 1646, he found himself in the center of a tumult apparently brought about by his impersonation or identification with Jesus. Brought before the bench in the Old Bailey, "the people cryed against me with a loud voyce, saying, Crucifie him, Crucifie him" (39). To direct questioning he returned riddling answers, unwilling to deny the identification which satisfied such deep inner needs. Mistreated by the justices and the crowd, he was returned to prison, and

> was swallowed up with such an exceeding joy, because I was counted worthy to suffer for the name of *Christ,* that I durst not sleep the night following, least through over-much joy in my sleep, I should have been taken away by death, and so diminish that honor, looking for nothing but the Sentence of Death the next day. (39)

Against his will and to his great disappointment, he was not crucified but instead treated as a madman, temporarily confined, then dismissed. He continued his prophesying, and after the execution of Charles I, called for the restoration of his son. Gradually Evans disappeared from history, but a last glimpse is quite pathetic. According to John Aubrey,

> Arise Evans had a fungous Nose, and said, it was reveal'd to him that the King's Hand would Cure him: and at the first coming of King Charles II into St. James' Park he kiss'd the King's Hand, and rubb'd his Nose with it; which disturb'd the King, but Cured him.[14]

Mad though it seems, in this case Evans was no more irrational than his age, for belief in the thaumaturgic power of the king was a mass delusion. Aubrey reports the cure without skepticism.

Evans' entire career seems maniacal, though many of its elements—visions, typological identification, extreme authoritarianism, the claim to prophetic power—are also "normal" features in the exotic psychological landscape of the century. When Evans impersonated Paul he did so for conscious literary or propagandistic purpose; when he became Jesus he employed a model based on early loss and a powerful need for compensation. The typology based on Paul is explanatory, but the typology based on Jesus is predictive, irrationally based, and suspect.

II

Francis Bampfield deployed typological material for more conscious literary effects than did Arise Evans. His autobiography, published in

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1681, is called *A Name, an After One, or A Name, a New One,* and is an extremely giddy and eccentric piece of writing.[15] Bampfield wrote under the pseudonym, Shem Acher, which he claimed to be "an Hebrew name, signifying an After-One." "After-one" is equivalent to neotype. The title page of *A Name* specifies that "Paul is propounded as an example." In format his autobiography consists of a series of alternating paragraphs, the first of which describes an event in the life of St. Paul, the second a corresponding event in the life of Shem Acher. Onto this peculiar structure, Bampfield grafted the diverse elements of his experience. Unlike Evans, Bampfield was not self-taught. He was a nonconformist minister who devoted most of his life to the advocacy of adult baptistism and seventh-day sabbatarianism. He wrote a large number of contentious pamphlets and essays on theological topics which exploited his knowledge of Hebrew. Bampfield's considerable intelligence was fixed on the idea that all knowledge—natural as well as moral—could be extrapolated from the Bible if only one could learn to read it correctly. This fanatical opinion was argued forcefully and logically and in language which only rarely suggests an addled enthusiasm.

The unique tone of his autobiography can be sampled in its first paragraphs.

> *PAUL*
>
> *PAUL* had another name, which was *Saul:* This other Name was an Hebrew Name, signifying, *Asked, Desired,* or *Petitioned.*
>
> *SHEM ACHER*
>
> *Shem Acher* is an Hebrew Name, signifying an *After-Name,* or a Name an *After one;* to which he was directed by the LORD, in a suitable Scripture, upon that new State, which he through Grace passed into.

Bampfield does not apologize for the rigorous subordination of the events of his life to a historical model, but he does inadvertently supply some clues to the psychological pressures which generated so eccentric a design. He was "born of Religious Parents," who "gave him up to the LORD for Ministerial Office and Work" (2). It was of great concern to them that

> He was set apart to his office, from his Mother's Womb: For, his Father and Mother related to him, when he grew up to some capacity for the taking of this in, that, (if not whilst he was in the Womb, in case he should prove a Male perfect Child, yet at least) upon his being born a Male Child with perfection of Limbs and of Parts, by Vow or some reli-

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> gious Promise made to God, they would give him up unto the LORD, to whom they dedicated him for the Office and Work of the Ministry. (7)

Distinction and rejection were inextricable. For Bampfield, the "dedication" was experienced in part as abandonment. Readers of other sectarian autobiographies, or of an analogous but much later work, Edmund Gosse's very explicit *Father and Son,* will remember that this sort of parental vow conferred upon the child the burden as well as the consolation of the elect.[16] Bampfield was set apart and distinguished from fellows and siblings, and his theology, like Arise Evans', developed out of the need to compensate for early loss. He seems to have thought of himself as possessed of two fathers, and to have concluded that the Lord to whom he had been surrendered was both more substantial and more loyal than his earthly father. His childhood was extremely anxious and fearful, dominated by the terror of potential damnation. Conversion (which he compared to that of Paul on the Damascus road) was the crucial experience. He condensed into one long paragraph the narrative pattern familiar from Bunyan's *Grace Abounding.* A conviction of sinfulness is succeeded first by formal observance of moral precept, then by a crisis of conscience, and finally by the embrace of an unmerited mercy.[17]

> The way and manner of the holy Spirit's working upon him hath been various at several times, yet in a marvelous gracious manner; even from his Childhood, and in his Youth, oftentimes by Terror, now and then by Bands of Love. He lay for many years under a spirit of bondage to Fear, being very often frighted in terrible Dreams, wherein he fell into deep Waters, the Earth sliding away from under him, whilst he endeavoured to climb up to the top of an Hill or Rock for safety, which he was not able to do: falling over Bridges into the Sea, and down from thence into the Gulph and horrible Pit (though at that time he little understood that thus was the positure of the Creation as to the lowest World). The Devil many times seemed to be at hand, running to lay hold on him, though always he escaped, yet so terrified as awakened him, and left cold sweats upon him: yet this kept him several years in aw, and held him back from many Sins. Once when he was tampering about one Sin, which was preparing for another Sin, though he did not then actually commit either the one or the other, a Voice with power smote his heart as with a Thunder-bolt from Heaven, *What if God should strike thee dead and damned upon the place?* which quickly sent him to his private Chamber, and set him about Praying, Reading, Confessing, Humbling work; and at other times he was put upon Fasting, thinking with himself to conquer Corruptions and Temptations, too much going forth in his own strength, and depending upon Duties; which yet Experience told him were all too

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> weak in this Combat without help from Christ and his Spirit. And at other seasons there were sweet Allurings, especially upon reading the History of Christ's Life, Sufferings and Death, which did very much melt him into Tears, and kindly affect, and winningly overcome the Heart. (3)

Insecurity and distrust are represented by the vivid imagery of the earth in upheaval. The determined lack of specificity in the "tampering about one sin, which was preparing for another Sin" hints at some sexual transgression, perhaps masturbation—a preparation for more lubricious enjoyments. The deep waters, the falling away of the earth, the "Gulph and horrible Pit" reflect the same sexual anxiety as Lear's "but to the girdle/Do the Gods inherit; beneath is all the fiends." The tension elaborated in the first half of the paragraph is resolved by the contradictory traits of the god of dissenting tradition. On one hand were the attributes of the punishing father—the thunderbolt, the voice from heaven, the threat of death. Balanced against this was the "alluring" son, here as elsewhere cloaked in feminine imagery, who by his passive and yielding acts had already redeemed human sinfulness. Bampfield's identification with the son led to a gingerly stated claim of divine paternity. Though he asserted this in a form very different from Evans' hysterical posturing, the psychological content of his claim is similar.

> Though he dare not, say, as one Minister told him concerning himself, he was Αυτπάτερ[2] A Self-Father, or, his own Spiritual Father; his meaning being, that he was his own converter, begotten and born by that Word which he preached to others. If any would have Shem to name his Father, He, of and by whom he was born from Above, was *Abi-jah,* Jah my Father; Abi Æl, the mighty God, my Father; Abi-hu, He and the Alone my Father He. (3)

His reborn self did not require a parent. He was self-fathered, but he lets us understand that if he could have a father, only He Above would suffice. He has answered the abandonment of his parents by casting them off in favor of the paternal God. Bampfield became God, or God's son, or some curious amalgam of the two. Just as in the case of Arise Evans, the overt type of Paul has been superseded by the covert type of Jesus.

The sense of being autogenous, coupled with new intimacy with the lord, produced a second climax to the narrative. Bampfield enacted a drama or ritual of re-birth equivalent to conversion: separated from "all Creature-Authorities" and "having given up himself wholly and entirely to Christ"

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> he with one more travelled from *London* to *Salisbury,* where, about the middle of the Day, in the broad River of that City, which runs with living water, he received his being baptized as by the Hand of Christ himself. . . . (17)

Once again, only supernatural agency can confirm him.

To strengthen his new identity, Bampfield now repudiated his unhallowed life. Always of a scholarly temperament, he had accumulated notebooks of classical abstracts; now he gathered all "his former Collections of human Authors of Philosophical Learning" in order to "begin (as it were) Religion all anew, and take all from Christ" (3). His papers therefore became, in a telling metaphor, his

> *Isaac:* But *Jehovah,* his *Ælohim* framed his Heart to it, and he readily answered the Call, and sacrificed with his own hand in the Flames several years Labours. (3–4)

In Bampfield's redaction of the legend, there was no divine intervention to forestall the sacrifice of the child.

Bampfield's marriage, though not as peculiar as Evans', was nevertheless sufficiently odd. His ability to bend typological models to his purposes was remarkable; one of its triumphs is the assertion that Paul himself married. Bampfield does not reveal his own wife's name, but calls her "Gnerzri-jah" and tells us that he married to compensate her for attending him during the nine years he was imprisoned at Dorchester jail, and then only to avoid scandal. Bampfield emphasizes that his motives are spiritual. Gnerzi-jah was not only "A Virgin modest and chaste," but also distinguished for "Humility, Patience, Mortifiedness, Diligence, Faithfullness, Zeal" (22).

Having sloughed off both the life and the religion to which he was born, he began to create a new theology answerable to his restored self. Bampfield experienced two sustaining and rewarding visions, which he compared to the theophanies of Paul. In prison for his "total thorow Nonconformist" evangelizing, Bampfield had a "clear view of Christ in his Glorified Humanity . . . as real to him as if he had conversed with Christ personally in the flesh." A second vision was even more wonderful and more powerful, nothing less than

> A Self-evidencing view of those Glorious Appearances of Father, Son, and holy Spirit, and distinctness of Communion with each of these in their several subsistences, shining forth in the Face of Jesus. (4)

This is difficult to visualize. The confusion may reflect the terse condensation of family roles in Bampfield's psychological system. In-

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spired by such revelations, which equated him to Paul as a maker of religion, Bampfield created his own holy family to substitute for what had been lost when he was dedicated to God. He now

> espoused and somewhat married his whole Man, Body, Soul and Spirit, to each of these three in One *Jehovah,* as to his Husbands, Creators and Makers; to the Father, as the Father; to the Son, as to the Son; to the Holy Spirit; Makers, Husbands, Creators. (4)

Bampfield struggled to find within the framework of Christian thought an externalization of intense private longings. But the theology offered by reformed religion was inadequate and he was impelled to create a revised trinity from the broken mirror of the old.

His theological system was among other things an antidote for sexual stress.

> Shem Acher, having a distinct view, by an eye of Faith, in a more than ordinary way and manner, of the Father as the Father, of the Son as the Son, of the Holy Spirit as the Holy Spirit; did orderly pass . . . into a distinct mutualness of such solemn Contract between him and every one of these, which took up sometimes in his particular application severally to each from that Scripture, Isa 54.5. *Thy Husband thy Maker: Jehovah Ælohim* so commending Himself, his Beauty, his Goodness, his every-way Amiableness and Loveliness to *Shem Acher's* choice. . . . The LORD hath since that Contract all along provided for *Shem* as for one wedded to him, and the espousing Knot between them is declared indissoluble. (34)

The chaste espousal to the polymorphous god—father, son, spirit as well as wife—seemed to satisfy his various needs. It was, in his vocabulary, a "Conversion after Conversion" (35). Symbolic but inadequate language strove to represent a fullness of satisfaction in the Lord. Bampfield's discontent was incited by the association of sex and damnation; a mystical espousal into an intense but non-sexual holy family re-channelled unacknowledgeable longings.

At about this point, Bampfield's autobiographical impulse failed and the remainder of *A Name, an After One,* devolves into a desiccate treatise on the merits of theocracy. He follows the precedent of Augustine's *Confessions*—the prevailing model for autobiographers until the innovations of Rousseau and Gibbon—which also ended with extended meditation. But Bampfield had already revealed the utility of the typological model. The impersonation of Paul liberated him to create a uniquely personal theological system, a very private variation on a public theme.

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Bampfield's vision of God seems to have been too private and involuted to be easily communicated. He had no followers and provoked only minimum controversy. Yet it is impossible not to see that in an age of religious ferment his myth might well have become the seed of an innovative system of belief. By attaching himself to the seventh-day Baptists, Bampfield finally found a home within a prospering community.

III

The career of the third of these typological autobiographers is the career of the founder of a new religion. Here we can watch a private mythology, crystallized around a typological model, successfully shape itself into an ideology capable of attracting a considerable number of adherents. While Evans and Bampfield flirt with a declaration of their own divinity, Muggleton embraces his supernatural mission.

The religion that Lodowick Muggleton co-founded survived, precariously, until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Its genesis is recorded in Muggleton's richly typological autobiography. Sometimes the religion's creators (Muggleton and his cousin John Reeve) see themselves as Moses and Aaron, sometimes as Jesus and Paul, and sometimes as the witnesses or prophets mentioned in Revelation 11, a text of a strong apocalyptic cast and one much discussed within the millenarian community.

> And I will give power unto my two witnesses. . . . And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must . . . be killed. . . . (3–5)[18]

Just as Moses has written of his life, and Paul of his, so Muggleton, "being the Third and Last Record from God on Earth" (Book I, 2:10), found it "convenient and expedient to leave some Record on Earth . . . since we were chosen of God, in the Year 1651" (2.11). The clash of banal thought and sonorous language occasionally pushes the autobiography into involuntary self-parody. The derivative prose rhythms obscure but do not obliterate Muggleton's dilemma, which is comparable to those of Evans and Bampfield. A passage from the *Acts of the Witnesses* (3:7–9) introduces the character of Muggleton and the style of his narration:

> And I *Lodwick Muggleton,* was Born in *Bishopsgate-Street,* near the Earl of Devonshire's House, at the corner House call'd *Walnuttree* Yard.
>
> My Father's Name was *John Muggleton,* he was a *Smith* by Trade, that is a *Farrier,* or *Horse-Doctor,* he was in great Respect with the *Post-Mas-*

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ter, in King *James*'s Time; he had three Children by my Mother, two Sons and one Daughter, I was the youngest, and my Mother lov'd me.

But after my Mother Died, I being but young, my Father took another Wife; so I being young, was expos'd to live with Strangers in the Country, at a distance from all my kindred: I was a Stranger to my Father's House after my Mother was Dead.

Disruption of childhood was too common to be sentimentalized, but Muggleton's bleak "my Mother lov'd me" and the understated notice of her death are poignant even in the absence of an accomplished rhetoric. Exile from his father (a familiar refrain in these writings) was almost equally painful. Muggleton was emotionally orphaned, vulnerable and estranged. Never again did he mention either parent in his autobiography. When his own wife died, and he sent his children to nurse in the country, he failed to notice that he visited on his own children the pain he had once endured.

There may be some covert link between unresolved feelings of loss and alienation and the principal theme of Muggleton's early years—the obsessive fear of damnation. Such fears, of course, were pandemic, but nowhere more acute than among puritan radicals. Sectarian sermons and autobiographies testify to the unparalleled anguish generated when the reformed churches abandoned the system of sacraments which had once offered an institutional path to salvation. Under the new dispensation, God became distant, implacable, capricious and unapproachable; hell became eternal, inevitable, capacious, and agonizing. Public profession of Christianity, unless accompanied by inner illumination, was now to be dismissed as merely formal or legal.

Muggleton's personality, like that of many of his contemporaries, was shaped by a fear of damnation undiluted by the redemptive qualities of his religion. "My mind," he wrote, "was extremely perplexed with the fear of Hell." He was

> exceedingly fearful of Hell and eternal Damnation: The very Thoughts of it made my Spirit many times fail within me. (5:3)
>
> Yet the fear of Hell produced many deep Sighs and Groans, even from the bottom of my Heart, for fear God had made me a reprobate before I was born, because he did not answer my Prayers, nor speak Peace to my Soul. (5:22)

Attempting to cope with this paralyzing anxiety, Muggleton first rejected the Calvinist vision of the afterlife in favor of something very close to what his century called atheism and the next would call deism or rationalism. He

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> gave over all publick Prayer, and Hearing, and Discourse about Religion and lived an honest and just natural life. . . . But I was in good Hope at that time, that there was nothing after death, but all Happiness and Punishment was in this life. (7:14–15)

This proved a difficult position to sustain. In the 1640s there was little public support for so adventurous an attitude, and Muggleton was too deeply despairing not to lapse into characteristic puritan fearfulness. Only the revelations which led to his embrace of a neotype would release him from such terrors.

Fear of damnation was supplemented by a second prominent psychological theme, which could be called, at the risk of anachronism, divided consciousness. About to marry a woman whose family was engaged in "usury," Muggleton felt compelled to reject worldly in favor of spiritual success. He invented a metaphor to explain the deep division in his own nature.

> So that the love of the Maid, and the fear of the loss of my Soul did struggle within me, and dispute within me like two distinct Spirits, even as a Woman in Travail with two natural Sons in the Womb, so that I was in great strait which I should cleave unto. (4:14)

These two spirits—twins in the womb—Muggleton also called "the two Seeds of Faith and Reason" (4:18). Reason allows usury; faith prohibits it.

In thrall to these two linked psychological debilities—divided between faith and reason, and fearful of damnation—Muggleton prosecuted his version of the good life until the climactic year 1650. Then the events which led to the founding of the new religion took place. At this point Muggleton faced two decisions. He could accept damnation or abandon belief in hell; he also had to choose between a life governed by faith or one committed to reason. The englightenment path, available to some free spirits, would have required him to discard both faith and damnation. Muggleton elected the conservative route, clinging to what others were to abandon. He was therefore vulnerable to the extreme distress caused by these beliefs. Nor could he achieve the assurance that he was already safe in the bosom of the Ancient of Days which would have dissolved his difficulties. Muggleton was therefore locked in an impossible intellectual dilemma.

Balanced at the tickle point, paralyzed with anxiety, Muggleton fell in with two men whose example set him free to explore alternatives beyond "atheism" or the conviction of sinfulness. John Tany had already "declared himself . . . the Lord's High-Priest" and announced

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that he intended to "act over the Law of *Moses* again; therefore he Circumcised himself according to the Law." Tany "also declared that he was to gather the *Jews* out of all Nations and lead them . . . to *Jerusalem.*" ("With many other strange and wonderful things" [8:3–4], Muggleton adds.) Tany's extravagant claims are modest beside those of John Robins, Muggleton's other acquaintance, who "declared himself" (8:5) to be simultaneously Adam reborn and God Almighty. Robins announced that his mission was to gather 144,000 men and women out of England and lead them to Jerusalem, where he would divide the Red Sea and feed his followers with manna from heaven. Robins also asserted that he could give all his followers the power "by the clap of their Hands and a stamp of their Foot, to destroy any that did oppose them" (8:12), and even more wondrously, by the same power "to Damn any that did oppose, or speak evil of him" (8:10). It is an index of Muggleton's precarious sanity that he was attracted to such people, but it is also true that in these assertions of power he found the potential for unravelling the cords that bound him. At first he retreated to the psychological state of early manhood, but with a new urgency, goaded (if possible) by an even greater terror. "My old fears of Hell rose in me, as it did formerly, when a *Puritan*" (9:8).

> So I began to reason in myself, what I should do to escape being Damn'd to Eternity, for I dreaded the Thoughts of Eternity; for I did not so much mind to be Saved, as I did to escape being Damn'd. (9:9)

He still felt with great intensity the splitting of his personality or ego, but now the internal forces had become almost animate.

> Then did two Motions arise in me, and speak in me, as two lively Voices; as if two Spirits had been speaking in me, one answering the other. (9:6)

At the same time, the "Scripture of *Paul* in the *Romans* pressed hard upon me, *What if God willingly make thee a Vessel of Wrath, fitted for Destruction*" (9:12). Muggleton was acutely aware that he could do nothing to change a judgment of God, which, although unknown to him, had been finally and ultimately inscribed. He knew that he had

> no more to say, nor to plead for myself, but must yield and submit to the prerogative Will of God; if he would Save me he might, if he would Damn me he might, I could no ways prevent his Will. (12:14)

Faced with a dilemma which could not be resolved by rational means, Muggleton experienced the revelation which allowed him to transcend it.

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> That very same Night, the Windows of Heaven were opened to me, and the Fountains of the Water in Heaven were broken up, and the Water of Life run down from Heaven upon me. (13:5)

He discovered that he was a neotype of a biblical type:

> Neither did I wonder any more at *Paul's* Expressions, when he was wrapt up into the third Heaven, and saw things unutterable. (13:10)

Muggleton no longer had to fear mythological figures; he had become one.

> Here was that saying of Scripture fulfilled in me. *Isaiah* xlii, 16. *And I will bring the Blind by a Way that they know not; I will lead them in Paths they have not known; I will make Darkness Light before them.* Though this Scripture was fulfilled in Christ's time, yet it was fulfilled in me now. (13:16)

His spiritual odyssey was now almost complete. Muggleton's cousin, John Reeve, undergoing parallel but unrecorded visions, was also a vessel of supernatural intelligence. Reeve's revelation was that the raven and dove which Noah sent forth from the ark "was a Type of the two Seeds in every Man" (14:16); the raven stood for reason, the dove for faith, and there was no conflict between the two. Moreover, God had told Reeve that Lodowick Muggleton was "to be his Mouth" just as "*Aaron* was given to be *Moses*'s Mouth" (Book II, 1:3). In addition, Reeve announced that God had given him the authority to bless or curse people to eternity. God had transferred the power of damnation and salvation to Reeve, and authorized Reeve to pass it along to Muggleton.

> *John Reeve* said unto me the second Morning, If thou wilt not obey to go along with me, I must pronounce thee Cursed to Eternity, as God did me, had not I obeyed him.
>
> Then said I, In case they will not obey me when I speak unto them, I have no Power to Curse them, if they will not go along with me or you.
>
> Yea, said he, but you have, as much Power as I have. . . . (1:17–19)

This revelation became the foundation of Muggleton's private theology; from this point on, and long after Reeve's death, he was utterly convinced of his power to damn or bless individuals to eternity. It is not difficult to understand the psychological movement. Muggleton claimed for himself the tyrannical power which he had earlier projected onto God, and overcame anxiety and theology by usurping exactly the authority which had oppressed him. The power of damna-

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tion had been neutralized. In just the way Arise Evans became Christ and Bampfield Paul, so Muggleton, liberated by typological thinking, became a parody of the wrathful God of mid-century Calvinism.

Muggleton's new power, alas, did not always receive among the populace the respect that it obtained among his disciples, who embraced with vicarious fervor the new delegation of authority. Muggleton's first exercise of the prerogative met with only mixed success:

> So I went with [Reeve] to one *Thomas Turner* . . . and said unto him, Mr. *Turner,* You must go with us . . . else you must be cursed to Eternity.
>
> But Thomas Turner was willing to go with us, but his Wife was exceeding Wrath and Fearful.
>
> And she said, if *John Reeve* came again to her Husband, that she would run a Spit in his Guts; so *John Reeve* cursed her to Eternity. (1:20–22)

There was also the skeptical Mr. Penson, who "rose up and with both his Fists smote upon my head" (4:19). Others were more responsive. When an acquaintance asked him if it were true that he had the power to save and damn, Muggleton replied that God has

> put the two-edged Sword of my Spirit into [my] Mouth, that whoever I pronounce Blessed through [my] mouth, is Blessed to Eternity, and whoever I pronounce Cursed . . . is cursed to Eternity. Then he began to fear, and said, for God's sake, *Lodowick,* do not say so. . . . (4:14–15)

The remainder of Muggleton's autobiography is neither psychologically nor typologically creative. Many people hearken to the good news, while disbelievers are punished by eternal damnation. The ratio of cursed to blessed is about four to one. The autobiography devolves into a fairly tedious account of the successes and failures of proselytization.

IV

There are a number of psychological convergences among these three typological narratives. A first similarity is that each autobiographer suffered specific parental loss or estrangement during childhood. Evans was unmentioned in his father's will; Bampfield alienated to a spiritual father by his natural parents; Muggleton, after his mother's death, sent by his father to live with "strangers." A second similarity is that in each case childhood and early adulthood were governed by deep spiritual anxiety. Evans' restless search for supernatural reassur-

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ances, Bampfield's and Muggleton's pervasive worry about damnation express this tension. Prevailing ideological norms—the projection of guilt into a revengeful and painful afterlife—intervened to exacerbate an anxiety which reason could not deflect. A third similarity is that for each autobiographer personal relations were formed on an authoritarian model: obedience was either offered to paternal figures or demanded from subordinates. Muggleton's acceptance of the power of damnation is the most extreme case.

It is out of this matrix—generated in part by unique personal circumstances and in part by cultural norms—that typological autobiography emerged. The loss or alienation of paternal figures seems to have left a gap which could be supplied by the convenient availability of mythological surrogates. Meanwhile, the fear of damnation intensified insecurity and produced a craving for reassurance by accommodating rather than by resisting authority. These autobiographers found meaning and significance not in the uniqueness of their lives but by merging with powerful regal and divine figures. When they obliterated the line between self and other, they defied normal canons of sanity and found themselves in situations where typology could dictate rather than explicate the course of events.

Typological autobiography is narrow and parochial, but its psychological and cultural predicates are widespread. The interruption of families, for example, was even more common in the seventeenth century than it is today. Troubled father-son relations were a prevailing cultural feature. Strong fathers denied the autonomy of their sons by dictating the choice of spouse, occupation, domicile. Authoritarian personality structure reveals itself in the success of absolute monarchy, in the triumph of the Calvinist God, in the subjection of women, and in unexamined xenophobia. Muggleton and his fellows are therefore not mutations but caricatures of a prevailing psychological situation, and typological autobiographies differ in degree but not in kind from the mainstream. From these writers it is only a short leap to narratives so indebted to psalm and prophecy that they seem to be closer to poetry than to autobiography. The language of seventeenth-century personal narrative is often peculiar.

> And so then the Lord becoming our Shepherd, he taught us, and led us forth into green Pastures, we did feed and rest together with great delight.[19]

The greatest writers of the period emerge from the same matrix. Though John Milton drew upon a far more sophisticated inheritance

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than that available to most of his political and religious fellows, the same sun that shone upon them also shone upon him. The true fruit of the climate that produced these eccentrics is *Samson Agonistes,* in which popular autobiographical tradition and learned typology are brought together in a way that is new, imaginative, and politically explosive.

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NOTES

1. Radical protestantism during the revolutionary period has been extensively studied. The following books have been extremely helpful: Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (London, 1972) and *Milton and the English Revolution* (London, 1978); A. L. Morton, *The World of the Ranters* (London, 1970); B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (Totowa, N.J., 1972); Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon* (Toronto, 1978). The main lines of the autobiographical tradition are set out by Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1969); also of great value are Cynthia Griffin Wolff, "Literary Reflections of the Puritan Character," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 29 (1968), 13–32; Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience* (New York, 1972); Dean Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century England* (The Hague, 1971); Robert Bell, "Metamorphoses of Spiritual Autobiography," *ELH,* 44 (1977), 108–126. The best treatment of typology in the literature of the period is in Joseph Summers' *George Herbert: His Religion and Art* (London, 1954). See also William G. Madsen, *From Shadowy Types to Truth, Studies in Milton's Symbolism* (New Haven, 1968).
2. Barbara K. Lewalski, "Typological Symbolism and 'The Progress of the Soul' in Seventeenth-Century Literature," in *The Literary Uses of Typology,* ed. Earl Miner (Princeton, 1977), 79–114, shows some of the ways in which "typological symbolism became in the earlier seventeenth century an important literary means to explore the personal spiritual life with profundity and psychological complexity" (81).
3. Ira Clark, " 'Lord, in Thee the Beauty Lies in the Discovery': 'Love Unknown' and Reading Herbert," *ELH,* 39 (1972), 560–584; E. Pearlman, "George Herbert's God," *English Literary Renaissance,* 13 (1983), 88–112.
4. *The Prose of John Milton,* ed. J. M. Patrick (New York, 1968), 324.
5. Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson,* ed. James Sutherland (London, 1973).
6. Hutchinson, "Chronology," p. xxix.
7. John Deacon, *The Grand Impostor Examined* (London, 1656), p. 18.
8. G. F. Nuttall, "James Nayler: A Fresh Approach" (*Friends' Historical Society, Supplement 26,* 1954).
9. Ed. Roger Sharrock (London, 1966), p. 32; Dayton Haskin, "Bunyan, Luther, and The Struggle with Belatedness in *Grace Abounding,*" *University of Toronto Quarterly,* 50 (1981), 300–313.

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10. London, 1643. Burton is discussed by Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters from The Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 83–89.
11. Recollections [of Sir William Waller] in Hannah Cowley, *The Poetry of Anna Matilda* (London, 1788), pp. 97–139.
12. Evans is the subject of an analysis by Christopher Hill and Michael Shepherd ("The Case of Arise Evans: a historico-psychiatric study," *Psychological Medicine,* 6 [1976], 351–358), an essentially agnostic study, which allows that Evans was an "abnormal personality" (357). See also Christopher Hill, "Arise Evans: Welshman in London," *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 48–77.
13. Part II (London, 1646), p. 173.
14. J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives,* ed. O. L. Dick (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. lxv.
15. London, 1681. Information on Bampfield is recorded in *The Non-conformist's Memorial,* by Edmund Calamy, 2nd ed. revised by Samuel Palmer, 2 vols. (London, 1777), II, 149–150.
16. London, 1907. See also E. Pearlman, "Father and Mother in *Father and Son,*" *Victorian Newsletter,* 55 (1979), 19–22.
17. Murray G. Murphey, "The Psychodynamics of Puritan Conversion," *American Quarterly,* 31 (1979), 135–147; Howard Feinstein, "The Prepared Heart: Puritan Theology and Psychoanalysis," *American Quarterly,* 22 (1970), 166–176.
18. "Popular eschatology had identified these witnesses as Elijah and Enoch, the two personages in the Old Testament who were 'translated' to heaven without undergoing death in the body," Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium,* rev. ed. (New York, 1970), p. 145. *The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* was originally published in London in 1699. Citations are to the collected edition of Muggleton's *Works,* printed in 1764.
19. John Burnyeat, *The Truth Exalted* (London, 1691), p. 9.

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BRUCE REDFORD

Evelyn's *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* and the Hagiographical Tradition

The place of John Evelyn's *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* in the English biographical tradition needs to be re-evaluated. According to Donald A. Stauffer, whose *English Biography before 1700* remains the standard survey of the field, Evelyn should be considered one of "the pioneers in the new type of intimate biography"—"a progenitor of modern life-writing" along with Burnet, Baxter, and other secular biographers of the late seventeenth century.[1] Those few scholars who have since had occasion to mention the *Life* follow Stauffer in adopting a retrospective viewpoint on the work.[2] Boswell's pioneering achievement in the genre of detailed psychological portraiture has provided the basis for assessing Evelyn's goals and methods. Yet it is only when anachronistic expectations are set aside that the *Life* can come securely into focus.

This brief study will emphasize one important truth: the biography represents a deliberate reworking of the late antique and medieval saint's life, a genre based on Evagrius' Latin translation of Athanasius' *Life of St. Anthony* and on Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin.* Hagiographic convention, as transmitted either directly through the Latin Lives or through the vernacular English tradition shaped by them, best accounts for the distinctive traits of the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin.* As many readers have understood, the work strives to canonize its subject—"that saint," as Evelyn repeatedly calls her.[3] What literary historians have failed to recognize, however, is that his biography, *"the Life of that Saint,"* is also a saint's life in the strictest generic sense.[4]

The salient traits of a generalized hagiographic model need to be

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summarized before Evelyn's particular responses to the tradition can be understood. The genre's basic *raison d'être* is quite straightforward: it exists to edify. The saint's life formulates a pattern of moral and spiritual conduct based on thc suffering and glorification of Christ. The eminent Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye defines the purpose of the form and pinpoints its hybrid nature: "L'hagiographe. . . . écrit l'histoire dans un but spécial et bien défini, qui n'est point sans influence sur le caractère de son oeuvre. Car il ne raconte pas seulement pour intéresser, mais avant tout pour édifier. Un genre nouveau se crée, qui tient de la biographie, du panégyrique et de la leçon de morale."[5] Because of this inherently didactic orientation the general tends to override the particular. If they occur at all, details of physical appearance and references to individual quirks and frailties remain strictly incidental to the writer's purpose. The saint's life emphasizes deeds as the basis of an *imitatio Christi*—witness the general rubric, *acta sanctorum.*

The typical Life conforms to a fixed structural pattern and to a highly characteristic set of rhetorical conventions.[6] It begins with a preface addressed to a friend or superior which stresses the writer's didactic and panegyrical impulse, his unworthiness for the task at hand, and his painful lack of eloquence. The hagiographer insists that he has launched his hazardous enterprise only at the express command of another. Almost without exception, he makes use of two ancient rhetorical commonplaces, the "affected modesty topos" and the "inexpressibility topos." These formulae stylize the writer's humility and his putative inability to convey the full perfections of his subject. As Ernst Robert Curtius notes: "Included among the 'inexpressibility topoi' is the author's assurance that he sets down only a small part of what he has to say (*pauca e multis*). This procedure is especially frequent in the *vita sancti*—a genre which first appeared in the fifth century and which had an enormous need for panegyrical phraseology. . . . Such lives of saints are frequently made up of traditional clichés."[7]

In the opening section of the Life proper the hagiographer describes the precocious childhood of the saint, early examples of pious behaviour, and clear anticipations of greatness. The saint's adult career is recounted as an example of holy living, with stress on missionary deeds, acts of unusual charity, resistance to temptation, and edification by word and deed. The final section, holy dying, includes a last oration or solemn testament. The standard work of hagiography then concludes with a litany of virtues, stories of posthumous miracles, and the establishment of a cult.

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In structure, language, and theme, the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* affiliates itself with this pervasive hagiographic type. Once the generic category itself is grasped, then the distinguishing features of Evelyn's work seem not only unexceptionable but also inevitable. The writer signals his intentions from the outset by packing the first two paragraphs with hagiographic clichés. The exordium fixes Evelyn's perspective for the reader and dramatizes the one appropriate response to Mrs. Godolphin—imitation bred of adoration:

> I am not unmindfull of what yr Ladysp suggested to me concerning that Blessed Saint now in Heaven: Do you believe I need be Invited to preserve ye Memory of One whose Image is so lively imprinted in my Heart? But you would have a more permanent Record of her perfections, and so would I; not onely for the Veneration we beare her precious Ashes; but for the Good of those who emulous of Virtue, would persue the worthys't Instance of it in this, or perhaps, in many Ages before it. (p. 7)

The third sentence unfurls the "affected modesty topos":

> 'Tis Certaine the Materiale I have by me, would furnich one who were Master of a Style becoming so admirable a Subject; and wish'd I have a thousand-times, ye Person in the World, who knew her best (and best she Loved) would give us the Picture of a Lady, his pencil could best Delineate: If such an Artist as He is, decline the undertaking, for feare that even with all his skill, he should not reach ye Original; how farshort, am I like to fall, who cannot pretend to the meanest of his Talents! (p. 7)

The second paragraph further deploys this commonplace, and joins to it both the "inexpressibility topos," the formula of dutiful submission to an urgent wish/request/command, and the equally formulaic statement of didactic intent:

> . . . it would become a steddyer hand, and the Penn of an Angels Wing, to Describe the Life of a Saint; who is now among Those Illustrious Orders: but Madme, 'tis yr peremptory Comand I should set downe what I know, and how diffident soever, I ought to be of Acquitting myselfe, as I should, and the undertaking requires; yet since 'tis hardly possible to Speake anything of her Indiff'rently, but what must raise an Emulation in those who Reade, or Heare of it, to Imitate her Virtues, I put my-selfe upon the Adventure. (p. 8)

Mrs. Godolphin is a "Blessed Saint," and this is the way in which saints' lives have always begun. In the context of intimate secular biography, Evelyn's introduction could only seem pompous, frigid, impos-

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sibly fulsome and therefore culpably insincere. Approached as conscious adaptations of a centuries-old rhetorical tradition, on the other hand, these preliminary flourishes require no justification.

In accordance with traditional procedure, the childhood section of the *Life* stresses Margaret Blagge's pious precocity:

> . . . as her extraordinary discernment soon advanc'd to a greate and Early Sense of Religion; so she brought her to be Confirm'd, by the now Ld Bishop of *Ely,* Dr *Gunning;* who it appeares was So Surpriz'd at those Early Graces he discover'd in her; that he thought fit she should be admitted to the Holy-Sacrament, when she was hardly Eleven yeares Old. (p. 9)

Margaret's trials begin when the Countess of Guilford, in whose household she had been placed, attempts to convert her to Catholicism. Without any trace of mock-heroic irony, Evelyn insists that the pressures to which the six year-old girl was subjected did indeed constitute a genuine campaign of persecution. There was even, he asserts, the potential for martyrdom:

> . . . being frequently Tempted by that Bigotted Proselyte, to go to Masse and be a Papist; our young Saint would not onely not be perswaded to it; but Asserted her better Faith with such readynesse and Constancy, as (according to ye Argument of that keene Religion) caused her to be rudely treated, and Menac'd by the Countesse: So as she was become a *Confessor,* and almost a *Martyr* before she was Seaven-yeares old. . . . (p. 10)

"Almost a *Martyr*": Margaret, like Crashaw's Saint Theresa, is denied the opportunity to die for her faith at an early age. Greater things lie in store.

The narrative of Margaret's adult life begins with the move to Court, where she rapidly makes converts in an alien and pagan land. Her two roles, logically incompatible but rhetorically symbiotic, are those of anchorite and missionary: she witnesses in her private devotions as well as her public conduct to the power of faith. Despite a continuous barrage of aristocratic allurements, the young saint walks through the valley of temptation unscathed—in the words of a Victorian reviewer, "like the lady in Comus, though beset by satyrs and fauns, and all the bestial herd of that drunken and dissolute Lord of Misrule, safe in her unspotted chastity."[8] Even during the height of a Court masque, "this *Blessed Virgine,*" who had been forced to act one of the principal roles, seizes every opportunity backstage "to divert, and take-off her thoughts from the present Vanity, which, from her Soule, she abhor'd" (p. 54). Outer display counterpoints inner value:

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Margaret is decked with "neere *twenty-thousand* pounds-Value of *Jewels,*" yet remains in and of herself "a Pearle" beyond price (p. 54). Punning on Margaret's name, Evelyn offers in his Epilogue a poem ("In Margaritam Epitaphium") designed to elaborate the significance of the allusion to Matthew 13: "Here lies a *Pearle,* none Such the *Ocean* Yeilds, / In all the Treasurs of his liquid fields: / But Such as that *Wise Merchant* wisely Sought. . . ." (p. 114).

When Margaret resigns the position of maid of honour to Queen Catherine, Evelyn compares her departure first to the Israelite exodus and then to the flight of Lot and his daughters from Sodom and Gomorrah:

> She was come out of *Aegypt,* and now in her Way to the *Land* of *Promise:* You will easily Figure to yr selfe, how buisy this Young Saint was the very next Morning, in plying up her little *Carriage,* and to quit her *Prison;* and when you have fancy'd the *Conflagration* of a Certaine Citty (the *Scripture* speaks of) Imagine this Lady trussing up her little fardle, like the *two Daughters,* whom the *Angels* hastn'd & conducted out. . . . (p. 33)

The celebration through similitude continues: Margaret Blagge forsakes Whitehall as Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees, and as St. Jerome's Paula and Eustochium discarded imperial Rome for the sacred retreats of Palestine:

> It brought to mind, how at the Declension of the *Roman Empire,* and when the Sinns and Vices of a licentius & abandon'd Age, had alarm'd the *Roman* World, with a Barbarous and Universal Inundation (like what was now on the Sceane of *Europe*) that *Paula* & her Daughter (two Rich, & Beautiful Ladys) quitted the Splendor of a pompous Court, for the *Recesses* of *Bethlehem,* and the *Solitudes* of *Judea,* and to prost'rate themselves before the *Manger* of the *Divine Babe,* and then, at the foote of *Calvary,* where this holy Mother, & beauteous Daughter spent the rest of their days in the Recollection of their Lives, and the Worship of JESUS: Me-thought nothing more resembl'd this Act of these *Devota's,* then the *Heroick* Resolution of Our Saint . . . (p. 35)

Such elaborate comparisons assimilate Margaret to a sacred and semi-sacred order of beings whose actions prefigure, validate, and dignify her own. The cumulative effect of incessant biblical analogy on Evelyn's portrait is one of *sfumato* combined with drastic foreshortening: outlines are blurred, individual proportions subjected to the perspectival laws of an encompassing sacred space.

Margaret's next trial involves the rack of prospective marriage.

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After retiring from Whitehall to live with the Countess of Berkeley, she is tormented by indecision: should she not break off her engagement to Sidney Godolphin, and with it a firm commitment to the *vita activa*? The opportunity to live a virginal, cloistered life under the supervision of the Dean of Hereford exerts a powerful appeal. Evelyn quotes at length from her letters on this subject, which fill the place of sermons or prayers in the older saint's lives. Instead of fostering psychological intimacy in the manner of a Boswell or even a Mason, these extracts actually distance Margaret's plight. Evelyn carefully directs the reader's attention to their exemplary status as meditations on the question of marriage vs. the single life. The record of vehement internal debate approximates a chronicle of saintly tribulation: "Something there is of a Spirit & Zeale so extraordinary in this letter; that methinks, I am Reading the Passion of some of those tender, and noble Vergins, whose Resolutions, and Couragious Suff'rings we find Inrolled in the Primitive *Martyrologes*" (pp. 42-43). Margaret's dilemma is likened to Saint Paul's:

> Nor was This the last of this flagrant Soule; this Devout Lady, who now Conjur'd me to Advise on what she was best Resolve, whilst her Heart remain'd thus divided, Like the *Apostles* (in an other Case, and that of *Love* too) *wishing to* be *dissolv'd,* that she might be with *Christ,* and freed from this Solicitude—[9] (p. 43)

The third section of the *Life* elaborates the topic of holy dying in a hagiographic vein. Evelyn translates childbirth and death from puerperal fever into versions of torture and martyrdom. The birth of the Godolphins' son is preceded by portents of disaster; labor becomes a "conflict" in the arena; the fever that follows suggests "a Fiery-Trial" (pp. 71–77). Mrs. Godolphin's last letter to her husband, which Evelyn quotes in full, takes the place of a deathbed speech. In it she expresses regret for past failings and mentions legacies, burial, and the care of their newborn child. The letter ends with the parting benediction from the Order of Holy Communion in the *Book of Common Prayer:* "The Peace of God which passeth all Understanding, keepe your heart and Mind in the Knowledge and Love of God . . ." (p. 81). The sacrament of Margaret's presence comes to an end; now the redemptive force of memory begins to operate.

The last thirty pages of the *Life* supply an extended coda or gloss on the preceding narrative. Evelyn has intoned the text; he will now preach a definitive interpretation of it. His commentary begins with an emphatic restatement of the didactic and commemorative motives behind the enterprise:

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> But, after this, & all I have Say'd, Impossible will it be to Conceive *what* she was without Indeavoring to *Imitate,* and *Acquire* those Excellencys, and *Transcendent* Vertues, which made her what she was: To shew you *That;* some thing I have Attempted here, according to my poore Abilitys, and yr Comands . . .. (p. 83)

In this final section Evelyn becomes both artist and priest: he sketches what he calls Mrs. Godolphin's "Picture," and recites a lengthy rosary of memories before the altar of friendship he and Margaret had erected when they first drew up their pact of friendship. "Drew up" quite literally: the picture of this figurative shrine has been preserved among the MS pages of Evelyn's *Diary.* The litany catalogues her extraordinary acts of personal devotion, penitential austerity and self-examination, bountiful but discreet alms-giving, visits to the sick and the imprisoned, missionary work among the godless aristocracy:

> She made piety & Religion, and all the *Graces* of Vertue & holinesse: *cherefull things,* Lovely as her-selfe, and *that* in the *Court;* so as many of the *Greatest there* were made to looke upon Devotion as a Serious thing; yet Consistent with their Post: There are yet some (& more I wish there were), known to your Lap, who owe the tincture to this *Saint,* & will I hope Retaine it: So as if ever it was a *Holy Court,* 'twas when she was the life of it. (pp. 100–01)

The biblical parallels continue unabated: Mrs. Godolphin first reminds Evelyn of "*Hester, Daniel* and his Associats, who after their *Ascetic* Diet, appear'd mor-beautifull, and in better poynt, than all the rest" (p. 90); then of "those Holy Women, that went *Early* to the *Sepulchre*" (p. 91); and finally of Christ's disciples:

> Being *Willing* she *Caught* them by Craft, and as (I would sometimes Call her) the *Fisheresse*—who allways *Cast her Net* on the *Right Side:* what more shall I add? she was fortunate in all she set her hand to; because she layed-out all These Perfections in the Service of God, the winning of Soules, and *Greate* is her *Reward.* (p. 105)

The peroration culminates in an explicit comparison between Mrs. Godolphin and various exemplary women from the Synoptic Gospels and the Pauline Epistles:

> We might well Compare this Incomparable Lady, to Those Excellent persons whose *Praise is in the Gospel,* and whose *Names* (the *Apostle* assures us) are in the *Book of Life:* Being Like *Cornelius* & *Dorcas,* full of *Good-Works* & *Alm's Deedes* which she did. As *Priscilla,* she *Instructed* many *more perfectly in the ways of God;* as *Mary,* she bestow'd much *Labour;* And so I call to mind the *Phoebes* & *Triposes: Julia* & *Olympia, Claudia* & *Eunice,* To whom st *Paule* would Certainly have added

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> *Margarita,* this *Pearle,* this *Unio* of ours, (had she ben then in the World) who were *Servants* of the *Churches, Succourers* of the *Saints; Helpers* in *Christ-Jesus,* & who were even ready to lay-down their Necks for the *Gospel*. . . . (p. 109)

The ultimate accolade, an implied comparison with Christ himself, comes last. After that, *quid plura*?[10]

The *Life* ends as it began with a cluster of hagiographic motifs. Evelyn affirms the reliability of his *narratio* by emphasizing his uniquely privileged status:

> To *Justifie* then what I present yr Lap, & that all is no *hearsay* (as most of these *Narrations* are) I have ben often partaker of her *Sadnesses,* and *brighter days,* Witnesse of her *Devotions* & serious *Recollections:* Accurate, & Extraordinary Preparations; Ardent *Zeale, Sincere Friendship;* Generous, & obliging *Nature,* in a Word, of all the Transcendent Vertues & Graces of a perfect & Consumate *Christian Lady*. . . . (p. 110)

The biographer then weaves for his subject a final garland of praise. Mrs. Godolohin is translated to the heavens and lamented in a short Pindaric ode. For all its technical ineptitude, this poem does sustain a mood of rapturous grief. Its imagery of "Essential Love"—and in particular the coronation of a transfigured Margaret with heavenly light—echoes Crashaw's description of the beatific vision in "A Hymn to Sainte Teresa." Evelyn's brief epilogue makes explicit his intention to supply a Protestant saint's life which will vie with the most famous works of Catholic hagiography: "The *Life* of this Admirable Woman, is Written to shew, *not what she should be,* but what *she Realy, was:* And I prevoke *Causine* in all his *Holy-Court,* & all the Tribe of *Legendary's* among the *Theresa's* & Devotas of that *Romantiq-Church,* to produce me a Parallel" (p. 115). Here is an Anglican wife—emphatically not a Catholic virgin—who yet challenges comparison with a Saint Theresa, and may even surpass her. Evelyn's last words, quoted from the Book of Proverbs, fling down a gauntlet at the same time that they cap his biography: *"Many Daughters have Don Vertuously; But Thou Excell'st them All."*

In a prefatory letter to Sidney Godolphin, Evelyn refers to the *Life* as "A *Monument* of my Veneration, and Esteeme of that *Deare Lady*" (p. 4). Like any good hagiographer, Evelyn uses his work to ratify and embellish a cult. Its contents apart, the appearance of the Morrison MS reflects this cultic interest. Evelyn painstakingly revised an earlier version of the *Life,* copied out the text himself, and had it encased in a sumptuous red morocco binding, lavishly tooled in gold, with his

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cipher in the center of the design.[11] On the title page appear the mystical pentangle, the insignia of the Evelyn-Blagge friendship, and the motto which Evelyn caused to be etched on Mrs. Godolphin's coffin: *"Un Dieu un Amy."* As Harriet Sampson notes: "Apparently this motto was chosen by Evelyn as the one that most fitly expressed the quality of his friendship: as sacred as his relation to his God and as unique."[12] Pentangle and motto reappear at the end to form an emblematic colophon. While the contents of the book are meant to serve as sacred history and manual of devotion, its physical embellishment transforms it into a shrine, an offering, and a relic. By looking at it and reading in it, Evelyn, Lady Sylvius, and Sidney Godolphin can remember, praise, and glorify the Pearl "withouten spot."

In sum, the *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* reaches backward rather than forward—backward to Walton, Foxe, Roper and the Latin tradition. It is the last of an ancient line, not the begetter of a new race. An examination of Evelyn's library catalogue of 1687, preserved at Christ Church, Oxford, strengthens the case for a hagiographic pedigree. The 900-odd "Libri Theologici Scholastici et Heterodoxi" listed there include Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* Jacobus de Voragine's *Legendae Sanctorum,* and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments.* As in these prototypes, chronological narrative and psychological definition fade in and out, while panegyric permeates the whole. This pious woman led a life of allegory, and Evelyn's record of that life is intended to articulate its symbolic significance. Accordingly, the horizontal axis of life-in-time is subordinated to the vertical axis of atemporal truth. The Victorian reviewer quoted above responded precisely as Evelyn would have wished to the pictorial condensation that pre-empts and subsumes historical plot: "Raphael never painted a cartoon more full of divine love and meekness of spirit than hers. . . ."[13] The *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* aspires everywhere to the condition of biographical icon.

A final comparison with Walton's *Life of Herbert,* published eight years before the probable date of Evelyn's first draft, will consolidate this interpretation of his enterprise. Like Evelyn, Walton was a hagiographer. The structure of the *Life of Herbert* reflects Walton's desire to create a prototype, that of the ideal country parson, for admiration and imitation. Walton's biography ends, as does Evelyn's, with the canonization of its hero: "Thus he liv'd, and thus he dy'd like a Saint, unspotted of the World, full of Alms-deeds, full of Humility, and all the examples of a vertuous life."[14] Like Margaret Blagge, Herbert was born to high estate and surrounded from an early age by all the glitter of power and wealth—yet rejected worldly temptation unconditionally.

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Walton uses Herbert's own writings to render his portrait more vivid and more edifying; Evelyn likewise quotes at length from Margaret's letters. In both Lives, biblical references, quotations, and sacred parallels abound. According to David Novarr, Walton "had put a halo about Herbert's head, had made his case that the halo glorified even noble and learned heads, and had shown the clergy precisely how they, too, could obtain like halos."[15] *Mutatis mutandis,* the same holds true for Evelyn's Margaret Godolphin, "the best *Wife,* the best *Mother,* the best *Mistris,* the best *friend* that ever *Husband, Child, Servant, friend* [or] that ever any creature had. . . ."[16]

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NOTES

1. Donald A. Stauffer, *English Biography before 1700* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), p. 121.
2. See W. G. Hiscock, *John Evelyn and Mrs. Godolphin* (London: Macmillan, 1951), p. 196; E. S. de Beer, *Notes and Queries,* 205 (1960), 284; Michael Hunter, *TLS,* 29 May 1981, 614. Hiscock asks us to read the *Life* from a Freudian perspective; he believes that in it Evelyn reveals his erotic passion for Margaret and his sexually competitive feelings toward Sidney Godolphin. E. S. de Beer views the work as a secular chronicle of friendship; he is therefore distressed by "the combination of religion and sentiment, and the over-strong language in which it is expressed."
3. Two Victorian editions of the work called it *The Saintly Life of Mrs. Margaret Godolphin.* See Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily with a Bibliography of His Writings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 246. Harriet Sampson (see below, n. 4) describes the *Life* as an "exercise in hagiography" (p. xiii). In her Twayne Authors survey, Jeanne K. Welcher comments cryptically: "The genre of saint's life is not for everyone; nor is *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin*" (*John Evelyn,* 1972, pp. 89–90).
4. *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin,* ed. Harriet Sampson (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1939), p. 3. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition; references appear parenthetically in the text. I have lowered superscripts throughout.
5. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes* Hagiographiques (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, third ed., 1927), p. 64.
6. For an incisive summary of standard hagiographic procedure, see Bertram Colgrave, "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 44 (1958), 37–39.
7. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1953), p. 160. See also pp. 83–85.
8. *Gentleman's Magazine,* 28 (1847), 49.
9. Evelyn alludes to Philippians 1:21–24.
10. A widespread locution (one version of the "inexpressibility topos") from the medieval saints' lives. Evelyn uses it in the passage quoted on p. 12: "what more shall I add?"

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11. See Keynes, Plate 14.
12. Sampson, pp. 214–15.
13. *Gentleman's Magazine,* 28 (1847), 51.
14. Walton's *Lives* (Oxford World's Classics, 1927), p. 319.
15. David Novarr, *The Making of Walton's* Lives (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1958), p. 361.
16. *The Diary of John Evelyn,* ed. E. S. de Beer (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1959), p. 656 (8–9 Sept. 1678).

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David E. Schwalm

Johnson's *Life of Savage*: Biography as Argument

Louis Kronenberger describes Johnson's *Life of Savage* as "the personal memoir of a friend and the life story of a rascal. It is, indeed, not least enjoyable for starting out to be a kind of vindication and winding up, a kind of exposé"[1] Kronenberger thus identifies the central critical problem of the *Life:* Johnson seems to be trying to elicit from his readers a sympathetic response toward Savage which he does not always share and which most of the evidence he supplies tends to contravene.

The *Life* does seem to contain conflicting strategies. On the one hand, the narrator asserts as his general thesis that Savage's "misfortunes claim a degree of compassion not always due to the unhappy."[2] He generally maintains a sympathetic stance toward Savage, emphasizing his few virtues and mitigating his many faults. His final evaluation of Savage's character *begins* as follows: "For his life, or for his writings, none, who candidly consider his fortune, will think an apology necessary or difficult" [p. 141]. On the other hand, the narrative is composed largely of a candid and circumstantial account of Savage's faults, crimes, vices, and consequent miseries. The same narrator who is so emphatic about Savage's virtues is also careful to point out each of his faults and to call it by its proper name: imprudence, resentment, arrogance, hypocrisy. He is sometimes more reproachful than sympathetic toward Savage, occasionally treating him with irony and moral indignation. And the final evaluation of Savage's character *concludes* with a stern admonition about the consequences of following his example in disregarding the "common maxims of life": "... negligence

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and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible"—a judgment derived from Savage's life and, therefore, presumably applicable to him [p. 142].

What are we to make of such inconsistency? Johnson seems to be working at cross purposes, equally determined to excuse Savage's conduct and to condemn it. Is there any way to reconcile a vindication of Savage with the condemnatory strain in the *Life,* or must we conclude that Johnson was confused or uncertain about what he was doing?

Paul Alkon's historical survey of recorded responses to the *Life* indicates that most readers have tended to respond either to the vindication or to the exposé.[3] Most modern critical discussions of the *Life* usually undertake to explain the apparently disparate strategies, not to reconcile them.[4] In several recent articles, however, critics have taken a new look at the *Life* assuming that it is possible to find strategic unity and coherence in the text.[5] The following analysis is intended to complement the work of these scholars.

In this discussion, I will approach the text from a rhetorical point of view. Adopting the hypothesis that Johnson did intend the *Life* to be a vindication of Savage, I will attempt to reconstruct the rhetorical problems this objective posed and to demonstrate how the apparently conflicting strategies are, in fact, a coherent solution to these rhetorical problems. I will conclude with some speculations about why Johnson's strategy in the *Life* has often failed to impress its coherence and unity on particular readers.

One must ask why, if Johnson really wanted to defend Savage, he recounted so much of his untoward conduct, so readily admitted his faults, and judged him so rigorously. Apologists, after all, have been known to suppress, at least, if not to invent. But the accomplishment of any objective a biographer may have—to vindicate, to praise, to slander, to preserve his subject's life and character, to delight and instruct the reader—depends on his readers' believing the narrative to be true. Disbelief overthrows apology, panegyric, and calumny alike, saps the moral force of edifying example, reduces our interest in the fate of the protagonist, and utterly defeats the biographer with no conscious ulterior motive whatsoever. Delivering on the truth claim is the immediate and essential end of biography. Ironically, however, neither the reader nor the biographer knows what "the truth" about the subject is. All either has to go on is the available evidence, that fragmentary, distorted, and perhaps unrepresentative remnant of the complicated nexus of behaviors that constitutes a life. "The truth" is

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irrecoverably lost. What a biographer aims for, and what a reader looks for, is a credible or probable organization of the available evidence. Although the nature of the evidence imposes some limitations on the biographer, he has considerable freedom to select, emphasize, and arrange the evidence. Thus the same body of fact can be shaped into quite different, even contradictory, biographies. Our judgment of the truth of a biography finally depends not so much on the verification of the facts as on the probability of the particular arrangement of facts and on the credibility of the biographical narrator.

In attempting to mount a *credible* defense of Savage, Johnson was faced with two related rhetorical problems. First of all, the preponderance of evidence available about Savage tended to establish the need for a vindication while there was little out of which to fashion one (even Johnson could not find much). Secondly, Johnson's immediate audience was already aware of most of the evidence. Savage's obscenity trial, his murder conviction, his death in debtors prison, and his mediocre poetry were matters of public record. Similarly, much of the behavior Johnson reports displaying Savage's imprudence, arrogance, vanity, ingratitude, hypocrisy, and treachery had been unusually public and had been rehearsed more than once in the public prints by Savage himself, by his friends, and by his enemies. Those who had not known him could have known *of* him from these accounts or from general literary gossip. To make things even worse, Johnson was writing shortly after Savage's death, and time had not yet dulled the edge of the sensational, criminal, and venal transactions of his life.

Johnson evidently was aware that a large part of his potential audience knew something about Savage's life and that what they knew was not particularly good. In the *Life* itself, for example, he frequently refers to charges commonly made against Savage or negative opinions generally held of him: "He was accused likewise of living in an appearance of friendship with some whom he satirised . . ." [p. 89]; "That he was not altogether free from literary hypocrisy . . . cannot be denied" [p. 9]; "That Mr. Savage was too much elated by any good fortune is generally known" [p. 99]. Moreover, in a letter he wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine* announcing his intention to write the *Life,* Johnson clearly anticipated that readers expected Savage to be treated as the rogue hero of a sensational "life-and-amours" or a "Newgate" biography.[6] Johnson probably wrote the letter as much to discourage sensation-seeking readers as to forestall sensational biographers. Savage's life, Johnson apparently felt, could be judged properly only by a jury of "lovers of truth and wit"—an audience not usually addressed by

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sensational biographers. His attempt to chasten his readers' expectations signified that he conceived himself to be addressing readers likely to be familiar with the grim details of Savage's life.

With such an audience, Johnson had to establish his own credibility as Savage's biographer. In his letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine,* he claims biographical authority as "a person who was favoured with his confidence, and received from himself an account of most of the transactions which he proposes mention, to the time of his retirement to Swansea in Wales."[7] In the *Life* itself, he confirms this claim in the many first-hand reports of Savage's conduct and conversation. Moreover, he tells us that, when Savage left London for Wales, he "parted from the author of this narrative with tears in his eyes" [p. 127]. Johnson thus placed himself in the classic rhetorical dilemma of the "friend-biographer." By claiming to have been Savage's friend and confidant, he could establish his biographical authority. But his reader could, in turn, question his objectivity. His friendship with Savage might, as Johnson himself wrote later in *Rambler* 60, "overpower his fidelity, and tempt him to conceal, if not to invent." Johnson had to be careful that his vindication of Savage not be attributed to the blind partiality of friendship.

Why Johnson was so candid in the *Life* is now readily apparent. As a friend-biographer addressing Savage's biography to an audience already more or less familiar with the facts of the case, Johnson could not have suppressed or invented much about Savage—even if he had wanted to—without sacrificing the credibility of the narratives narrative. If he wanted his vindication of Savage to be believed, he had to face the facts of his life squarely. His main rhetorical problem was what to do about them. Obliged by the situation to report the damning details of Savage's conduct, where could Johnson make a stand in his defense?

His strategic options are laid out methodically in Cicero's theory of the rhetorical "status" of arguments.[8] In *De Inventione* he sorted forensic arguments into four categories depending on the kind of issue or question central to each—or, as he wrote in the *Topics,* according to "the place where the defense takes its stand, as if it were coming to grips in a counter-attack."[9] There are four places where an advocate may make a stand, four issues in legal argument: the factual, the definitional, the equitable, and the procedural.

Let us say, for example, that a lawyer has a client accused of murdering his wife. If his client really did not do it or if it seems impossible for the prosecution to prove that he did, the advocate will stand on

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the question of fact, denying that his client had anything at all to do with his wife's death. The question "Did he do it?" becomes, then, the focus of the arguments of the prosecution and defense, determining how each organizes the evidence in stating the facts of the case. If the available evidence is such that it seems risky or impossible to construct a persuasive denial of the essential action, the advocate may be able to stand on the question of definition. He will admit that his client committed certain acts that resulted in his wife's death, but he will maintain that the acts themselves or the circumstances under which they were committed make the word *murder* inapplicable. Granted, then, that he killed his wife, evidence and argument will be organized around the question "Was it murder?" But if the evidence is such that the advocate feels obliged to concede the action and accept the term conventionally applied to it, he may yet make a stand on the question of equity, claiming that the accused was justified in murdering his wife and, therefore, ought not be punished. In this case, evidence and argument will be organized around the question "Was the act of murder justified?" (In cases of civil disobedience, the defense will attack the justice of the law that the defendant admittedly has broken.) The procedural issue is somewhat different from the other three but is, in a sense, fundamental to them all. Standing on the procedural issue is a tactic whereby thc defense challenges the competence of the court before which the case is brought. Arguments on this issue deal with the charges or evidence only as they relate to the jurisdiction of the court, the competence of the judges, the propriety of the trial procedures, or, in modern times, the constitution of the jury.

The rhetorical status of an argument depends upon which of the four issues is central to it. The advocate undertakes a limited immediate objective in choosing to stand on one issue or another, but all arguments centered on any issue—even the procedural issue in its own way—are ultimately designed to affect the final judgment of the court—the sentence. When the advocate stands on the question of fact, the questions of whether or not his client is a murderer and of how he should be judged depend upon his proving that his client simply did not commit the act (killing) which is the basis of the charge. But if the act has been conceded, judgment may yet be affected by evidence and argument pertaining to the nature of the act (murder). And if the act (killing) and its nature (murder) have been conceded, the advocate may yet directly address the question of judgment itself, or, in Cicero's terms, the "question of the nature of justice and the principles of reward and punishment."[10]

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To see how the four issues in legal argument pertain to biography is not difficult. The relevance of the procedural issue is least readily apparent. Yet in biography, the question of who shall judge must be determined, and it is perhaps the most important determination the biographer makes. Although he has no control over who actually reads what he writes, every biographer must, consciously or unconsciously, choose an audience, even if it is only a multiple projection of himself. To this audience, not to mankind in general, the biographer makes his case. Vanity biographers, for example, can often play fast and loose with evidence because they know they are addressing an audience mainly interested in having their prejudices confirmed, uncritical as long as they are being gratified. Similarly, "Freudian" biography is often persuasive only to those familiar with and friendly toward psychoanalytical interpretations of evidence. In any case, the biographer must have some concept of a preferred audience, some reasonable estimate of their values, opinions, and thought patterns, in order to determine how to organize the evidence to produce in their minds the effect he wants to produce.

The issues of fact, definition, and equity are more obviously relevant to biography. Of course, biographers generally do not argue openly, as lawyers do. Instead, they select and organize evidence in ways that they hope will, within the limits of credibility, lead their readers to draw certain conclusions and not others about the biographical subject. A biographical narrative can be instructively compared to the *narratio* of a classical oration—a statement of the facts of the case, upon which subsequent arguments are based. It was frequently devised after the orator had invented and disposed his arguments which are implicit in the *narratio,* even if they are never made explicit. Although a biographer may thus seem to leave his readers to draw conclusions for themselves, they are seldom really "left." Biographical evidence is not simply arranged topically or chronologically. It is also arranged *logically,* linking up with the reader's inferential and analogical patterns in ways that limit alternative interpretations and tend to promote the conclusions the biographer wants his reader to reach, whether or not he states them explicitly.

But conclusions about what? About what the subject did or did not do, about what sort of character or motives his actions imply, and ultimately about how we should judge him—questions clearly analogous to the issues of fact, definition, and equity. Whatever issue concerns the biographer most or whatever issue he thinks concerns his audience most will guide the biographer's organization of the evidence. An

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example from Boswell's *Life of Johnson* will illustrate how the issue influences the presentation of the evidence. Boswell reports different versions of the same episode, one version written by Mrs. Piozzi, the other by Edmund Malone. Mrs. Piozzi had reported the following story in her *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson:*

> That natural roughness of his manner so often mentioned, would, notwithstanding the regularity of his notions, burst through them all from time to time; and he once bade a very celebrated lady, who praised him with too much zeal perhaps, or perhaps too strong an emphasis, (which always offended him,) consider what her flattery was worth, before she choaked *him* with it.[11]

Malone's version, reported in a memo to Boswell, follows immediately:

> The person thus represented as being harshly treated, though a very celebrated lady, was *then* just come to London from an obscure situation in the country. At Sir Joshua Reynolds's one evening, she met Dr. Johnson. She very soon began to pay her court to him in the most fulsome strain. 'Spare me, I beseech you, dear Madam,' was his reply. She still *laid it on.* 'Pray, Madam, let us have no more of this;' he rejoined. Not paying any attention to these warnings, she continued still her eulogy. At length, provoked by this indelicate and *vain* obtrusion of compliment, he exclaimed, 'Dearest lady, consider with yourself what your flattery is worth, before you bestow it so freely.'[12]

Mrs. Piozzi and Malone agree essentially about the facts of the case. The only real difference between the two versions of the incident is that Mrs. Piozzi wants the reader to conclude that Johnson was rude, while Malone wants to prove that Johnson's rudeness was justified by the provocation he received. Accordingly, Mrs. Piozzi deemphasizes the provocation and omits, as irrelevant to her view of the episode, the detail that the lady was not yet celebrated. Malone dramatizes the provocation and elaborates on the identity of the lady in order to excuse Johnson's conduct to some extent. Mrs. Piozzi's version is organized around the question of definition, leaving judgment implicit. Malone's is organized around the question of equity, addressing the question of judgment directly, while conceding both the action and the nature of the action.

The rhetorical situation Johnson faced in writing the *Life of Savage* severely limited his strategic options for fashioning a defense of Savage. He could neither suppress nor deny Savage's indecorous behavior, since his readers were already familiar with most of it. And so consis-

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tently indecorous was Savage's conduct that any attempt to obviate the conventional moral implications of such conduct was equally unavailing. To attempt, for example, to show that Savage was not imprudent, arrogant, or resentful—given his conduct—would have committed Johnson to an endless struggle against the obvious which, in itself and by raising doubts about the moral discrimination of the narrator, would have destroyed the credibility of the narrative. Johnson apparently could not find enough virtues to balance out the vices. Thus both the factual and definitional issues fail to provide grounds for a defense. Almost the only factual charge against Savage that Johnson denies is that Savage was somehow sexually involved with Mrs. Anne Oldfield who, during her lifetime, supported him with an annual pension of 50£. On the rare occasions when Johnson attempts to argue the definitional issue, he almost invariably winds up on shaky moral ground:

> His [Savage's] veracity was questioned, but with little reason; his accounts, though not always indeed the same, were generally consistent. When he loved any man, he suppressed all his faults; and, when he had been offended by him, concealed all his virtues: but his characters were generally true, so far as he proceedcd; though it cannot be denied that his partiality might sometimes have the effect of falsehood [pp. 140–41].

This rather unconvincing piece of sophistry is not very comforting coming from the pen of a biographer. For obvious reasons, Johnson rarely argues the definitional issue. If he was going to make a stand in Savage's defense at all, it had to be on the issue of equity. That is, Johnson had either to alter the conventional criteria of judgment he anticipated in his audience or make it difficult to apply them to Savage.

In writing the *Life,* Johnson took his stand in defense of Savage on the issue of equity. Moreover, the defense of Savage is not, as in most biographies, simply implicit in the narrative; it takes the form of an explicit argument. It is essential to recognize that the *Life* is not merely (or even primarily) a factual narrative. It is also, from beginning to end, an argument, morally and rhetorically complex, written with as much regard to the conventions of forensic pleading as to the conventions of biographical narrative.

There are, in fact, two continuing arguments in the *Life.* The major argument deals directly with how we should judge Savage; the other argument, which I shall treat briefly here, is an attempt through a series of divisions to transform Savage's poetry into a major counterweight to his faults of character. As he does in most of his major lives,

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Johnson separates the poetry from the man and his personal faults. But since in Savage's case most of the poetry is itself faulty, Johnson must make a further division between the art of the poetry (not "altogether secure against the objections of the critic") and its morality ("if one piece which he had resolved to suppress be excepted, he has little to fear from the strictest moral or religious censure") [p. 141].[13] On the strength of these divisions, Johnson claims, "These writings may improve mankind when his failings shall be forgotten; and therefore he must be considered, upon the whole, as a benefactor to the world" [p. 108].

Savage's failure, however, to observe in his life the morality he embodied in his poetry was most likely to sully his posthumous reputation. The main argument of the *Life* addresses our judgment of his personal faults and failings. It starts with an explicit enthymeme proposed in the fourth paragraph of the text: "[Savage's] misfortunes claim a degree of compassion not always due to the unhappy, as they were often the consequences of the crimes of others rather than his own" [p. 68]. Johnson assumed that his readers would accept as a moral commonplace his implied major premise—that anyone's misfortunes claim compassion if they are not his own fault. In order to prove that Savage deserves compassion, then, Johnson commits himself to proving that Savage's misfortunes were, more often than not, the consequences of the crimes of others. This proposition, if proven, earns Savage only an unspecified "degree of compassion."

Most readers probably feel fairly compassionate toward Savage during the early pages of the narrative wherein we hear of the circumstances surrounding his birth, the alleged cruelty of his mother, his impoverished childhood, the unimproving example of Sir Richard Steele, the difficulties he experienced in getting his first plays staged, and the dreadful circumstances under which he wrote them. But starting with the episode of the murder and continuing on through the many incidents where we see Savage aggravating his misfortunes or failing to improve on what good fortune comes his way, we begin to see that Savage's faults of character are largely responsible for his miseries. This is the point at which, to use Louis Kronenberger's words, the *Life* as a "kind of vindication" turns into a "kind of exposé." Just as we are about to protest, however, Johnson enunciates a corollary enthymeme, somewhat more ambitious than the first: ". . . if his miseries were *sometimes* the consequences of his faults, he ought not yet to be wholly excluded from compassion, because his faults were *very often* the effects of his misfortunes" [p. 92, italics added]. By means of

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this chain of causes, Johnson attempts to lay most of the blame for both Savage's misfortunes *and his faults* on "others." He can then claim compassion not only for those misfortunes caused directly by others but also for most of those miseries resulting from Savage's faults, leaving only a tiny residue of misfortune that does not deserve compassion.

The argument for compassion is the structural backbone of the *Life of Savage.* The *Life* is an argument as much as it is a biography. Johnson's basic strategy was to incorporate the formal biographical narrative of Savage's life into a formal argument in his defense. The exigencies of the argument determine, to a great extent, the organization and emphasis of the evidence. The narrative is not, therefore, merely analogous to the *narratio* in an argument; it is a *narratio.* In structuring the narrative Johnson follows chronological order, as is customary in biography. But he is also heeding an important convention of narrative in argument, described by Cicero in this way:

> A narrative can be a hinderance when a presentation of the events alone and by themselves gives great offence, which it will be necessary to mitigate in arguing and pleading the case. When this situation arises, it will be necessary to distribute the narrative piecemeal throughout the speech and to add an explanation directly after each section so that the remedy may heal the wound and the defence may immediately lessen the animosity.[14]

Thus the narrative proceeds, the narrator recounting how Savage's misfortunes result from the crimes of others or reporting Savage's faults and attributing them to his misfortunes. Johnson does not engage in a series of random brushfire wars, attempting *ad hoc* mitigation of this or that fault as it happens to come up. The *Life* is a series of strategic skirmishes, all part of an overall battle plan mapped out in the controlling argument.

By fusing the narrative with an explicit argument, Johnson was able to contend with the rhetorical problems of mounting a defense of Savage. The credibility of the narrative depended on his reporting much behavior which he could not condone and which implied qualities of character in Savage that he could neither deny nor applaud. He could not find an equal amount of admirable behavior with which to counter Savage's censurable conduct. In the face of such a gross imbalance of evidence, formal argument achieves what a quantitative balancing act could not. The arguments assign importance to evidence on the basis of logical relationship rather than quantity. The premises of the argu-

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ments elevate particular circumstances—which might not figure prominently in simple narrative—to the level of general causes while reducing the preponderance of negative evidence to a catalogue of effects produced by these causes. In proving his propositions, Johnson may advert time and again to these causes, repeatedly drawing attention to them and endowing them with importance that the reader might not otherwise see.

Once we recognize the rhetorical status of the central argument of the *Life,* we can see that Johnson is not really working at cross purposes at all. He has conceded the questions of fact and definition as possible grounds for a defense. He adopts instead the strategy that Cicero calls *remotio criminis,* "shifting the charge."[15] He argues that the causes of Savage's conduct and character must be examined before we pass final judgment. The question at the center of the *Life* is not "Did Savage do all those things he is accused of?" and not "Was Savage a good man?" but "Could he help being bad?" Johnson tries to vindicate Savage by shifting the responsibility for his conduct to "others," those whose crimes caused Savage's misfortunes which in turn engendered his faults which reflexively exacerbated his misfortunes. In doing so, he is relying on a conventional moral distinction, admitting to Savage's criminal or vicious actions but putting it out of his power to have done otherwise:

> That which we do being evil, is notwithstanding by so much more *pardonable,* by how much the exigencies of doing, or the difficulty of doing otherwise, is greater, unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from ourselves.

Thus did Richard Hooker express this distinction in a passage that Johnson cites in the *Dictionary* as an illustration of the proper use of the word "pardonable."

Johnson's argumentative strategy, which shifts the focus of the *Life* to the question of equity, allows him to distinguish between Savage as a general example and as a particular individual. Thus he can both condemn and excuse Savage's conduct without committing himself to a contradiction: Savage's conduct in *general* is censurable, but in Savage's *particular* case it is also pardonable. In the context of the argument, Johnson may report Savage's conduct with candor, scrutinize it with moral rigor, and extract, as he does in the final paragraph of the *Life,* the general moral lessons to be derived from Savage's example. Indeed, because of his audience's prior knowledge of Savage and because of his own position as Savage's friend and confidant, he *must*

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do this in order to establish the veracity, objectivity, and moral orthodoxy of thc narrator. Nevertheless, the portrait of Savage as a negative example is only a useful and nccessary by-product of the *Life;* it is not its main focus. What is at issue is how we should respond to Savage in particular. The argument on the question of equity enables Johnson, as William Vesterman points out in his article "Johnson and the *Life of Savage,*" "to describe Savage's faults without encouraging us to judge them as finally indicative of who Savage is."[16] This can only be determined by considering his faults in the context of his circumstances.

If there is any single statement in the *Life* that can be considered a statement of Johnson's intention, it is one to be found in the exact center of the narrative. All of Johnson's strategies are brought together in a single sentence:

> [His] writings may improve mankind when his failings shall be forgotten; and therefore he must be considered, upon the whole, as as benefactor to the world; nor can his personal example do any hurt, since, whoever hears of his faults, will hear of the miseries which they brought upon him, and which would deserve less pity, had not his condition been such as made his faults pardonable [p. 104].

Why Johnson's strategy in the *Life* often fails to impress its coherence on particular readers is a subject for some speculation. Generally, the strategy fails when readers respond primarily to the factual narrative, neglecting or rejecting the argumentative context in which it appears. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is the failure of the argument itself. It may fail, for instance, because it is uninteresting, especially to the reader who reads for instruction. A vindication of Savage's conduct is of little real use or importance to anyone except Johnson. The vindication applies only to Savage; but the moral lesson to be drawn from his life is generally useful and may, therefore, emerge for some readers as the main point of the *Life.*

Johnson's execution of the argument, moreover, is flawed in places. His occasional attempts to argue the question of definition smack of casuistry and might make an initially sympathetic reader nervous. Both the murder episode and the incident of the obscene pamphlet give Johnson a great deal of trouble. Although he admits that Savage's writing of the obscene pamphlet "cannot be vindicated" [p. 110], he proceeds nevertheless to try to mitigate the offense a bit by claiming that Savage *intended* to suppress the poem and that he *intended* to write another poem as an antidote to the first. But Johnson knew as well as anyone what hell is paved with. In regard to the murder, he cannot

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quite seem to admit that Savage actually plunged a sword into James Sinclair and killed him: "This produced a quarrel, swords were drawn on both sides, and one Mr. James Sinclair was killed" [pp. 80–81]. The predominant argumentative strategy in this part of the narrative is the *argumentum ad hominem:* Johnson attacks the motives and character of the judge, the witnesses, Savage's companions, and the victim himself. One cannot help but think that in this part of the narrative, at least, Johnson is being less than candid. On a few other occasions, he seems to lose control of his otherwise well-regulated partisanship. These lapses, taken all together, raise some questions about the reliability of the narrator of the *Life.*

Readers who are not alarmed by the narrator may deny the factual basis of important parts of the argument. Some, for example, may reject Savage's poorly substantiated claim to be the illegitimate son of the Earl Rivers and Anne Countess Macclesfield. Such readers see Savage as a charlatan harassing an innocent young woman who merely takes steps to defend herself, while Johnson portrays Savage as a young man tormentcd by the unmotivated malignancy of an immoral antimother. Still other readers may reject one of the basic assumptions of the argument—that is, that a person could be so mastered by circumstances that he could not regain control over his destiny. Indeed, there is always the nagging question of why Savage did not just get an honest job and settle down.

Considering the *Life* as a work addressed to a specific audience, however, provides a further possible explanation for divergent readings of the text. The *Life of Savage* is, I believe, addressed to a very specific audience—readers for whom the facts of Savage's life were not *new* information but, rather, information Johnson had to acknowledge as a guarantee of the credibility of the *Life.* For them, the facts are almost a given. Such readers, already knowing the gruesome details, would be more likely to respond to what *is* new, the logical relationships that Johnson establishes among the facts in his vindication of Savage. This audience would not be conscious of the *Life* as an "exposé" because there can be no exposé when the facts are already known. Subsequent readers, who—unlike Johnson's immediate audience—initially know little or nothing about Savage, may be so busy making his acquaintance that they are distracted from the central issue of the *Life.* For such readers, the detailed account of Savage's conduct *is* new information and, as such, its impact is likely to outweigh or compete with the impact of the logic of Johnson's argument in Savage's defense.

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Finally, there is the general human tendency to prefer simple moral judgments to complicated ones. It is often thought that when an advocate takes his stand, as Johnson does, on any question other than the question of fact he is quibbling. William Vesterman has noted in critics' vehement rejection of Johnson's defense of Savage "an almost melodramatic rigidity of position," a suggestion of the "unquestionable moral certainties of melodrama."[17] They seem to assume that Johnson's morally rigorous portrait of Savage precludes the possibility of any sort of vindication and dismiss out-of-hand Johnson's attempt at one. Vesterman finds it "strange that moral principle should be so easily opposed to sympathy or charity."[18]

We can see, however, that Johnson is not confused about Savage or about what he is trying to do in the *Life.* He is defending Savage, and he has worked out, in terms of his anticipated audience, a unified and coherent strategy for doing so. But it is a complicated strategy, audience-specific, requiring a complicated response from the reader. As each individual is more willing to cast himself in the role of the reader Johnson is addressing, the more persuasive and less disjointed the *Life of Savage* will seem.

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NOTES

1. *The Portable Johnson and Boswell,* ed. and with an introduction by Louis Kronenberger (New York: Viking, 1959), p. 34.
2. Samuel Johnson, "Richard Savage," in *Lives of the English Poets* (London: Dent, 1925), II, 68. All further quotations from the *Life of Savage* are taken from this edition, and references are included in the text in square brackets.
3. Paul K. Alkon, "The Intention and Reception of Johnson's *Life of Savage,*" *Modern Philology,* 72 (1974), 139–50.
4. See, for example, Kronenberger, *Portable Johnson,* pp. 34–35; Joseph Wood Krutch, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: Henry Holt, 1944), p. 82; and *Samuel Johnson: Rasselas, Poems, and Selected Prose,* ed. and with an introduction by Bertrand H. Bronson (San Francisco: Rinehart Press, 1971), p. xxv.
5. See William Vesterman, "Johnson and the *Life of Savage,*" *ELH,* 36 (1969), 659–78; and Robert W. Uphaus, "The 'Equipoise' of Johnson's *Life of Savage,*" *Studies in Burke and his Time,* 17 (1976), 43–54. Vesterman's analysis of Johnson's stylistic strategies is particularly perceptive, but he does not treat the larger structural characteristics of the *Life.*
6. Quoted in James Boswell, *Life of Johnson,* ed. by R. W. Chapman and corrected by J. D. Fleeman (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 120.
7. Boswell, p. 120.

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8. Although Johnson was familiar with Cicero's rhetorical works, I am not suggesting that *De Inventione* directly influenced Johnson's writing of the *Life*. Rather, *De Inventione* provides a thorough and systematic taxonomy of available argumentative strategies, a theoretical framework that can help us recognize and classify Johnson's strategy in the *Life*.
9. Cicero *De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica* (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1949), p. 455.
10. Cicero *De Inventione,* etc., p. 233.
11. Boswell, *Life of Johnson,* pp. 1327–28.
12. Boswell, p. 1328.
13. Johnson then attempts to mitigate Savage's artistic failings much in the same way he does his personal failings.
14. Cicero, p. 61.
15. Cicero, p. 253.
16. Vesterman, "Johnson and the *Life of Savage,*" p. 675.
17. Vesterman, p. 662.
18. Vesterman, p. 662.

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PAUL THEERMAN

Unaccustomed Role: The Scientist as Historical Biographer —Two Nineteenth-Century Portrayals of Newton

Biography is a versatile genre; it can be interpreted in many different ways. Because our culture places such importance on the individual, life accounts have a great and abiding interest. A traditional task of the humanities has been to explain how a Johnson, Napoleon, or Einstein lived their lives, and how their conduct bears on our own.

Beyond this, biography is an entrance—admittedly circumscribed, but very powerful, as Lord Acton said, in its collective form—to history as a whole. The "life" has almost always been written in contrast to the "times," the two together constituting the story to be told. Johnson's life tells us much about the history of eighteenth-century British letters, as Einstein's does about the plight of Jewish scientists in early twentieth-century Germany.

Finally, and for my purposes, most importantly, biographies can be used for the intellectual history of the times in which they are written. Biographies are texts, subject to the same methods of intellectual analysis as any other. And for every biography whose high standards of accuracy and composition give it well-deserved praise and longevity, there are scores of naively-written works. The latter reveal far more about the motives and aspirations of their authors than of their subjects. For an intellectual historian and historian of science, biographies of scientists written by prominent scientists are invaluable. One can learn two important things. In the history that they write, scientists show how they fit themselves into the ongoing scientific tradition, that is, how they construct history to legitimate their personal and professional positions to other scientists and to society as a whole. Secondly

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—and relatedly—biographies show what the authors prescribe for their contemporary scientific society,[1] how they wish to direct the development of science and the scientific community.

To find out what views of science were current among leading scientists of early nineteenth-century Britain, where there was intense activity in the formation of the role of the professional scientist, I have looked at the biographical works of two men, especially their writings on Newton.

The first author is Sir David Brewster (1781–1868), who wrote the *Life of Newton* (1831), and the *Memoirs of Newton* (1855)—the standard biography, long unsurpassed—and also a trio of lives (Tycho, Kepler, and Galileo) called *The Martyrs of Science* (1841).[2] The other scientist-biographer is his respondent, Augustus De Morgan (1806–1871), author of "Newton" (1846), and "On the Invention of Fluxions" (1852), and of a long review of Brewster's *Memoirs of Newton* (1855).[3] Both men undertook the same form, the "edifying life of a great man," and used it for different ends. Brewster was anxious to promote a public image of the scientist as a genius, with a corresponding noble character which commended him to the first ranks of society. He could tolerate few imperfections in the personality of his great scientist. His Newton was "modest, candid, affable, and without any of the eccentricities of genius."[4]

De Morgan admitted a more sophisticated view of character. He had no point to make on the public position of the scientist, and he resented Brewster's simplifications and pretensions. For example, De Morgan insisted on a full and honest explanation of Newton's contentious and mean-spirited relations with Hooke, Flamsteed, and Leibniz. Yet he did this without abandoning the ultimate aim of his biography, to exhibit a moral lesson by showing the true character of the scientist as seeker of wisdom.

Both men's interpretations lay within the broad expanse of political and cultural liberalism—which has recently been marked out as the intellectual setting for nineteenth-century British science.[5] Brewster and De Morgan were both allied with that movement's political branch—Whiggism. Their writings promoted it in very different ways and marked the boundaries of the liberal view of science. Though both partook of the moral didacticism and spirit of reform of nineteenth-century liberalism, Brewster was characteristically concerned with public propriety and position, De Morgan with private morals.

First, a note on the setting. Biographies of great men always have a currency. Newton's hagiography started at the beginning of the eigh-

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teenth century, with Halley's "Ode to Newton," Pope's epitaph, Voltaire's philosophical letters on Newton's philosophy, and Fontenelle's *Éloge.*[6] These were but scattered efforts though; in the nineteenth century works on Newton bloomed. Often new biographies were commissioned for or found convenient homes in inexpensive editions and popular series. Jean Baptiste Biot's "Newton," written in 1794 for the *Biographie universelle,* had a translator in Henry Brougham and an 1829 publication in the Library of Useful Knowledge.[7] David Brewster's 1831 *Life of Newton* was published as volume 24 of Murray's Library.[8] De Morgan's sketch, "Newton" (1846), was found in the Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies. De Morgan also wrote articles on Galileo for the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and its *Supplement,* published in the 1830s by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.[9] Although first published as independent books and not part of a series, the public accessibility of Brewster's *Martyrs of Science* is gauged by its going through eighteen editions, with both English and American printings, and by its being translated into French.[10] The writing of science biography was part of the great rise of literacy, expansion of publishing, education of the lower classes, and pretension of gentility and respectibility characteristic of early nineteenth-century culture.

The second quality of this biography of science was its appeal to sources. The passion for manuscripts, letters, and obscure publications, so evident in contemporary German and English works in political history, was present here also. Francis Baily's *Life of Flamsteed* (1835) resurrected the Newton-Flamsteed epistolary debate of the late seventeenth century.[11] Two years later (and six years after his shorter biography of Newton) Brewster obtained permission to study the Portsmouth collection of Newton manuscripts.[12] The *Principia* was re-edited and reissued in 1803.[13] Eighteen-fifty saw the publication of the Newton-Cotes correspondence by J. Edleston,[14] and De Morgan's piece on the "Fluxional Controversy," involving Newton-Leibniz letters, was published in the *Companion to the Almanac for 1852.*[15]

Thus I want to suggest that two quickeners of work and debate were present in early nineteenth-century England: a sensitized and active public opinion, and an increasingly rigorous professional canon. Brewster and De Morgan stepped carefully between them. On one side was the public which they felt they ought to instruct and entertain; this task demanded a simple, clear-cut message. On the other side was the need to stay close to the documents and to forthright interpretation; this requirement threatened to make sinners (or at least fallible men)

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where one needed saints. These two tendencies determined the bounds within which the biographies were written.

In early nineteenth-century Britain there were three distinct views of society that the new science professional hoped to enter: Radical, Whig, and Tory. Sir David Brewster portrayed science as a Whig enterprise.

Brewster's political credentials as a Whig were impeccable. He wrote a history of Freemasonry in 1804, when such movements were part of the same liberalizing trend as political Whiggism.[16] In its early years, the Whig *Edinburgh Review* received over 28 articles from Brewster; that is, until he thought the *North British Review* a more suitable forum for an evangelical Christian.[17] In 1833, in financial straits, he was offered a living in the English church by the Lord Chancellor and Whig magnate, Henry Lord Brougham, who had procured a knighthood for Brewster two years before. Brewster declined the curacy[18] and then stood as the Whig candidate against the Tory James D. Forbes for the chair in natural philosophy at Edinburgh, when such appointments were in part political and their disposition lay with the Edinburgh Town Council. Though unsuccessful in this contest, Brewster received from the government a principalship at St. Andrews University in 1838. In the strict party sense of Whiggism, then, Brewster was of the right color and stripe.

What then of the ideological sense of Whiggism? The political program of which Brewster was a part put its faith in men and institutions, but in "better" men and "reformed" institutions. By modern standards the Whigs were conservative: as William Ferguson said in the standard modern history of Scotland, "Such democratic measures as universal suffrage and the secret ballot were not favoured by the Whig reformers. Their idea, and they were human enough to believe that their measures would realize it, was a constitution cured of its grossest defects, and operated by a progressive and enlightened oligarchy."[19] Whigs wanted to see social institutions operated more smoothly, so that men of ability could rise to positions of power, responsibility, wealth, and prestige. Brewster attempted to tie British science to this program, by claiming for scientists those qualities of intellect and character that were appropriate for the Whig state.

This idea had institutional repercussions. Brewster's actions in the formation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science are already well-known.[20] One only need note here that Brewster consistently saw the British Association as a way to connect political defects

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in the national boards of industry, commerce, navigation, etc., or, in his words, "to raise scientific and literary men to their just place in society, and vindicate their claims to the same honour as every class of national benefactors."[21] Just as clearly, Brewster did *not* see the government as the patron of disinterested abstract science. The older institution of noble patronage would take care of that: "Our Aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud station as the patrons of genius. . . .The prelates of our national church will not refuse to promote that knowledge which is the foundation of pure religion."[22] Nor did he see the British Association as having as its primary purpose the coordination of scientific knowledge. Scientists themselves would take care of this privately, by doing on their own what was needed to advance the theoretical basis of their science. For Brewster, their self-sufficiency in this regard was a mark of their ability to achieve, and needed no external encouragement. Thus Brewster pushed for an institution similar to the French National Institute. This, he claimed, would have two benefits. The competition for the salaried positions would improve science, the occupants being living demonstrations of the high status which science enjoyed in British society. Second, a repository of expert knowledge would be produced for use by the expanding commercial interests of the country.[23] In this proposal, which Brewster presented as the natural outgrowth of the initial impetus behind the British Association, he consistently showed his concern for the social station of scientists, and for the broader societal use of the knowledge scientists produced. Of the various internal needs of the disciplines—for workplaces, forums, and publications—he displayed no appreciation at all. If one were to create the correct *formal* institutions, science would develop on its own accord.

Brewster's publications, his biographies of great men of science, were the complement to his political promotion of science. His work coincided with and supported the nineteenth-century liberal view of science and society. For example, consider the publishing history of his popular book, *The Martyrs of Science.* This book was first issued in 1841. The *National Union Catalog* lists yearly editions through 1847, editions every three years to 1860, every other year through the 1870s, and a last effort in 1903. In all there were eighteen editions between first writing and last publication, which neatly coincided with the years of triumph of the liberal state.[24]

The theme of this work and of Brewster's biographies of Newton reflected the political assumptions of the Whig program. Foremost in his mind was to present the scientist as a capable and productive part

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of the natural order of society. This was accomplished, not by making him a man of expert and commercially productive knowledge (though this aspect was not shunned), but by presenting him as a "man of capacity." Men of capacity, those of intellect, character, and ability, existed at all levels of society. They needed to be found, cultivated, and placed in positions of responsibility. They would form that oligarchy, liberal not democratic, but enlightened and reforming, which the Whigs held so dear in their thought, and which formed the common coin of liberal political thought throughout Europe. To Brewster's way of thinking, scientists would form an integral part of that oligarchy. His proof that they were men of capacity lay in the history of science, in its demonstration of the superior ability, intellect, and moral character of the men of science.

Brewster's biographies, while not slighting technical achievements, were mainly character sketches. He discussed the lives of Tycho, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton (and, by implication, the attributes of scientists in his own time) through two notions: genius and character. Genius was a quality of great scientists and eminent men. Thus Brewster was no Baconian "leveller of wits"; in his *Life of Newton,* he stated: "Nothing even in mathematical science can be more certain than that a collection of scientific facts are of themselves incapable of leading to discovery. . . unless they contain the predominating fact or relation in which the discovery mainly resides."[25] It was the ability and duty of genius to perceive this predominating fact, and this would occur by a process that was the reverse of simple induction: "The impatience of genius," he said, "spurns the restraints of mechanical rules, and never will submit to the plodding drudgery of inductive discipline."[26] Neither was the inquisitive mind of the genius a blank slate. When Galileo entered the university, his "innate antipathy to the Aristotelean philosophy began to display itself."[27] When successful in his studies, Galileo found himself attacked. "The ardour of Galileo's mind, the keenness of his temper, his clear perception of the truth, and inextinguishable love of it, combined to exasperate and prolong the hostility of his enemies. . . . In [his] unrelenting warfare he seems to have forgotten that Providence had withheld from his enemies the intellectual gifts which he had so liberally received." Brewster continued in a mixture of metaphors: "He who is allowed to penetrate the veil which conceals from common minds the mysteries of nature must not expect that the world will be patiently dragged at the chariot wheels of his philosophy. Mind has its inertia as well as matter."[28]

In addition to piercing intellect, genius possessed the quality of

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great imagination. "When Kepler directed his mind to the discovery of a general principle, he set distinctly in front of him, and never once lost sight of, the explicit object of his search. His imagination then unreined, indulged itself in the creation and invention of various hypotheses. . . the influence of imagination as an instrument of research has, we think, been much overlooked by those who have ventured to give laws to philosophy."[29]

But, on the other hand, genius reasoned well: it submitted its imaginings at the proper time to the patient and sure efforts of the judgment. Galileo entered his investigations "with the resolution of submitting every opinion to the test of judgment."[30] Brewster said that Newton had ascribed his success to "patient thought."[31] Judgment was seen as the necessary consequence to the action of the imagination; Brewster stated that "when the struggle for truth commences, [imagination's] services terminate; and it is by the solid phalanx of the judgment that the battle must be fought and won."[32]

What was most important, though, was that Brewster pointedly linked the genius of the scientist with the possession of high moral virtue and strong character. A hint of this idea has already been seen. *Patience,* an attribute of judgment and reason, is proverbially a virtue as well. *Love* of truth spurred Galileo to action. *Humility* was possessed by both Newton and Kepler, and indeed by all who were "allowed to penetrate into the mysteries of the universe," recognizing themselves "as but the instruments which the Almighty employed to make known his wonders."[33] Failed scientists lacked this essential humility, succumbing to the sin of hubris: "The errors of Paracelsus, Van Helmont, and Cardan . . . were not founded on their ignorance, but on their presumption."[34] Brewster expected more of scientists than of most men, for he promoted them as possible leaders of society. Thus he severely criticized Galileo. "He wielded against [his enemies] the powerful weapons of ridicule and sarcasm. . . . The boldness—may we not say the recklessness—with which Galileo insisted upon making proselytes of his enemies, served but to alienate them from the truth."[35] Galileo was ungenerous to his benefactors, especially the Roman Catholic church: "His son and himself were pensioners of the church, and, having accepted of its alms, they owed to it, at least a decent and respectful allegiance."[36] He resorted to a "shallow artifice" in his defense of the earth's motion, and was imprudent to have forced that issue in the first place. In contrast, Brewster claimed that the Inquisition treated Galileo "with the most marked indulgence." Why was Brewster, an evangelical Protestant in a country often fanatical in

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its attacks on Catholicism, so forgiving of the Inquisition, and so indignant about Galileo's actions? In the final moment, Galileo lacked the courage of his convictions and capitulated to the Inquisition: "By admitting their authority, he revived in fresh force those absolute obnoxious enactments [against the heliocentric theory]; and by yielding to their power he rivetted for another century the almost unbroken chains of spiritual despotism."[37]

Brewster thus insisted that there did exist throughout society men of innate intellectual ability and high moral character. And what he further insisted was that being a good scientist meant that one possessed these qualities. Therefore, scientists deserved both higher social status and the emoluments of government to which they were suited.

Where Brewster promoted the scientist as public gentlemen, De Morgan was the guardian of scientist as private man. Having no concern for boosting the public roles of the scientist, De Morgan intended to preserve the twists and turns of character in his biographical studies of Newton. Like Brewster, he read Newton's life as a morality play, but private not public morals were his concern.

De Morgan's life provides an interesting counterpoise to Brewster's. One cannot label it "opposite," because both men were involved in the Whig movement in Britain and shared in its basic assumptions. Born in 1806, a quarter century after Brewster, De Morgan attended Cambridge, where in 1827 he garnered Fourth Wrangler honors. It was widely believed that he failed to be First wrangler only through diffidence, rather than lack of ability. After graduation—or rather release, for religious scruples prevented him from taking his degree (only open to the subscribers to the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican communion), De Morgan became professor of mathematics at University College, London, the university for dissenters. He stayed at this post for most of the rest of his life. He resigned twice, first in 1831, for five years, because the college council dismissed the professor of anatomy without giving cause. In 1866 he again resigned in protest, because the council blocked the appointment of James Martineau as professor of moral philosophy, due to his Unitarian convictions. Clearly De Morgan was highly moral, if somewhat diffident about his own fate.

De Morgan's life paralleled Brewster's in many ways. Both were from evangelical backgrounds, but did not, like others who entered the establishment, conform to a more respectable Broad Church Anglicanism. While Brewster remained evangelical and churched, De

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Morgan turned to private devotions "of a Christian nature" while campaigning against religious discrimination, as his resignation in the Martineau affair demonstrated. Both Brewster and De Morgan were important in the Whig-Liberal circles of Britain through Henry Lord Brougham. While Brewster's role was that of promoter and polemicist, De Morgan characteristically was engaged in the literary side: as an active member of Brougham's Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, he contributed articles to the *Penny Cyclopaedia.* During his hiatus from University College, this provided a source of income: De Morgan wrote over 850 articles, one-sixth of the total of this large multi-volumed work.[38]

Their exchange of views on Newton extended over twenty-five years. Brewster's first extensive work was the 1831 *Life of Newton,* written partially in response to the 1829 English translation by Henry Brougham of Biot's biography,[39] which was not always favorable towards Brewster's hero. For example, Biot's account had Newton lapsing into madness on the accidental burning of some of his manuscripts in 1693, which Brewster preferred to gloss over. De Morgan's entry into Newton biography came with his 1846 work, "Newton," for The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies. De Morgan cited Brewster's *Life* as his "chief reference in matters of fact," but clearly disagreed with Brewster's eulogistic attitude. De Morgan's work centered on Newton's conduct in the controversy over the invention of fluxions (as explained below) as did five other articles over the next six years.[40] Brewster's *Memoirs of Newton* (1855) responded in part to De Morgan's criticisms, but Brewster was by this time a venerable figure in the British scientific scene, and neither had to nor cared to change his views. De Morgan's review of the *Memoirs* for the *North British Review* showed him to be far from satisfied with the book, which he claimed "has been tempted into the service of partisanship."[41]

The final, though long delayed, salvo was De Morgan's *Newton: His Friend: and His Niece,* written in 1858 with the intention of publication in *The Companion to the Almanac,* but posthumously published by his wife in 1885.[42] De Morgan thoroughly discussed the possibility of an illicit affair between Newton's niece, Catherine Barton, and his patron, Charles Montague (Lord Halifax). The rumor—extant in Newton's time—had ascribed his success in obtaining his government posts to this illicit union; Voltaire had spread this idea in his *Lettres philosophiques.* Brewster characteristically denied both rumor and affair. De Morgan's review objected to Brewster's treatment of this question in the *Memoirs,* and he felt compelled to develop his objec-

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tion into a long article and then a full-fledged book. He there concluded—after many long digressions and explanations—that a secret marriage had taken place. But the work was still-born; the piece was rejected by the publisher of the *Companion,* Charles Knight, on the grounds of lack of general interest. By this time De Morgan's criticisms were largely unheeded; as Frank Manuel observed, "Disconcerting revelations about Newton's personality by . . . Augustus De Morgan were, after an initial shudder, forgotten."[43]

The debates between Brewster and De Morgan were contentious enough while they lasted. Their long exchange turned on the issues which defined Brewster's biographies, the notions of genius and character. "Genius" was a word that De Morgan studiously avoided. For it he substituted the word "sagacity" which carried a far subtler connotation. Both Brewster's "genius" and De Morgan's "sagacity" suggested creative powers of synthesis, that is, the making of a hypothesis or law where previously there were only disparate facts. De Morgan, like Brewster, explicitly opposed Francis Bacon's theories of science as the collection, comparison, and reduction of facts.[44] But De Morgan's word "sagacity" implied a far more judicious, sober, and careful faculty than did Brewster's "genius." It conjured up wise men, not brilliant youth.

De Morgan thus attributed Newton's success not to genius, but to the combination of perseverence, patience, and sagacity. And he favored breadth of conception over spectacular discovery. In his short biography of Newton, De Morgan gave as the hallmark of the Newtonian system the linking of terrestial and celestial mechanics under one system of law. His example was Newton's calculation of the force on the moon, the derivation of the inverse-square law. De Morgan stressed the systematic aspects of Newton's conception, in drawing the sun, all the planets, and even the smallest bits of matter under the rule of one law and one force. He deemphasized the spark of genius in favor of the steady flame of wisdom, writing: "The world at large expects, in the account of such things, to hear of some marvellous riddles solved, and some extraordinary feats of mind. The contents of some well-locked chest are to be guessed at by pure strength of imagination; and they are disappointed when they find that the wards of the lock were patiently tried, and the key fitted to them . . . by processes of art."[45] So much for genius.

Their assessments of Newton's character further distinguished Brewster and De Morgan. The linking of intellect and virtue was the intent of Brewster's biographies. De Morgan's treatment of character

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was far more complex. His discussion of Newton pointed to a different set of virtues, not the public ones that Brewster needed, but private ones like those from which De Morgan took his own solitary moral stands. (The biographer's subject, as always, was in part himself.)

De Morgan's breaking of the link between intellect and virtue started with religion. Victorian society had supposedly liberalized, with Catholic emancipation, the abolition of Test and Corporation Acts in the late 1820s, and the gradual opening of the universities to followers of all religious professions which took place from the 1830s to the 1870s. Yet orthodox belief was expected, preferably Anglican, but at least Trinitarian. In his 1831 *Life,* Brewster had stoutly ascribed orthodoxy to Newton, in spite of Newton's friendship with John Locke and William Whiston, suspected Deists, and of persistent rumors, which surfaced in Unitarian tracts, of his anti-Trinitarian views.[46] De Morgan contested this position. In his short biography, "Newton," he discussed Newton's theological writings, especially his "Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture."[47] Brewster had noted this work, where Newton attacked the Trinitarian interpretation of two Scriptural verses (1 John 5:7, and 1 Timothy 3:16). But he interpreted Newton's argument as being against *these verses* as upholding Trinitarian views, not as against Trinitarian views per se. De Morgan claimed on the other hand that the supposed profession of the doctrine of the Trinity in the tract was a smokescreen, a stilted use of catechistical and creedal language, by which Newton protected himself from harm, while ironically implying that he believed just the opposite. After all, denying the Trinity was still a capital offense in England at the time when he wrote. After consulting the Portsmouth collection, which contained Newton's theological manuscripts, Brewster retracted his earlier position in his 1855 *Memoirs of Newton.* He printed there certain of Newton's religious manuscripts, showing him to hold the view that Christ was subordinate to God the Father and not equal, as maintained by orthodox Trinitarian doctrine. On this, Sir David merely commented that Newton was certainly not a sceptic.[48]

Newton's personal character was the primary point of contention between Brewster and De Morgan. Brewster maintained that Newton was "modest, candid, affable, and without any of the eccentricities of genius."[49] For De Morgan, all was not sweetness and light. He said: "The greatest fault, or rather misfortune, of Newton's character was one of temperament: a morbid fear of opposition from others ruled his life."[50] De Morgan demonstrated this by the case of Newton's priority

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controversy with Leibniz. In the 1670s Newton and Leibniz exchanged letters on many mathematical topics through Henry Oldenburg of the Royal Society. In reviewing the correspondence, which took place prior to the publication of the methods of calculus, De Morgan remarked that "Leibniz . . . was as open as Newton was secret."[51] For example, in his letter to Leibniz, Newton encoded the fundamental theorem of the calculus by presenting the letters of the description completely alphabetically—aaa, ccc, dd, eee, etc. Leibniz published his independently-derived method in 1684, whereas Newton's method, different in notation, remained circulating among his friends only, and in his *Principia* (1687) he avoided specific use of differential and integral calculus in favor of more cumbersome mathematics. But by 1695, a charge of plagiarism had grown up against Leibniz. De Morgan saw Newton's actions as characteristic. Newton disliked controversy. He preferred to have his lieutenants, such as Samuel Clarke, William Whiston, and Nicholas Fatio de Duillier, fight his battles. As President of the Royal Society Newton arranged for the committee debating the priority controversy to be composed of his friends; it duly decided in his favor.[52]

Newton's true character will out, though. De Morgan was no less concerned than Brewster in drawing moral lessons and learning from Newton's life, De Morgan took Newton's quality of temperament—his secrecy and hatred of dispute—and used it to illumine another aspect of character, Newton's motivation. For the two things that commonly drive men are money and fame. Newton had enough money; his hatred of dispute meant that fame was not a motive for his success, for reputations are made most quickly in controversy. All that could remain was the pure love of truth. "Never was there more of the disinterested spirit of inquiry, unspurred by love of system, unchecked by dread of labour or of opinion."[53] For De Morgan tragic flaw implied noble virtue. Newton "remained an object of unqualified wonder, and all but unqualified respect."[54]

Brewster's *Memoirs* did not end Newton scholarship in the nineteenth century, though the book had no serious contenders for almost eighty years. It remained the quintessential Victorian statement: massive and preachy. The twentieth century has seen three significant challengers. Louis Trenchard More's *Isaac Newton: A Biography* (1934),[55] Frank Manuel's *A Portrait of Isaac Newton* (1968),[56] and Richard Westfall's *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (1980).[57] Though quite different from each other, all three show similarities among themselves which distance them from Brewster's book. First, the obligatory moral and political posturing is now gone; second,

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and relatedly, biography has moved into the realm of academic historical scholarship.

This is not to say that these men's art is untutored. Each has a particular program to develop. More's biography was written to establish Newton as the personification of the scientific method. More mentioned genius as one of Newton's attributes, but played this aspect down relative to another: his finesse. Newton was able to see skillfully through the most difficult of problems, and to produce just that account that would explain without hypothesizing, at once abstract and yet closely tied to the data of the senses. More's Newton was not a metaphysician but a physicist; More's concern with positivism was made all too clear in this book. He disparaged the contemporary penchant for abstract symbolism in science. This he related to speculation —not the seventeenth-century speculation of aethers and power—but the "unrestrained speculation by mathematical physicists, who have forsaken the sober paths of scientific achievement in order to indulge in pure symbolism, and have invented a universe whose phenomena and laws have no correspondence with our sense perceptions."[58] (One assumes he meant men such as Einstein and Heisenberg.) Brewster had concern for the public image of the scientist. More had a greater concern for the public image of science. Science's "chief value" has always been "that it increases our power over nature and adds to our safety and comfort. Unless the possibility of practical application to the need of society is very generally perceived, any branch of science is certain to languish."[59] Covertly then, More's purpose was to show Newton as the prime exponent of scientific method—in his style, as noted above, and in its success in establishing the science of mechanics, which "most clearly satisfies our need for a science," the formulation of laws "which will predict as accurately as possible, future events," by which control over nature is made possible.[60] Thus the peccadilloes of the man's life serve not to diminish his achievements or his ultimate moral worth, and More's portrayal of Newton's life is rich, varied, and remarkably candid, his final judgment being that Newton's character was "of high purpose and *essential* nobility."[61]

This was not Manual's conclusion. An intellectual historian centered in the eighteenth century, Manual was concerned with the personality that spawned the Newtonian system. He used a modern technique—psychohistory—to get at Newton's early life, which devilled earlier biographers because Newton apparently destroyed all his family correspondence, especially from his childhood and student days.[62] But Manuel used his commonplace book and copy book, and their annotations, in conjunction with knowledge about Newton's later per-

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sonality—his fear of the public, wrath when crossed, jealous regard for his work, and sexual incapacity. His conjectural conclusion was that the Newtonian system was one aspect of the psychopathology of genius:

> A structuring of the world in so absolutist a manner that every event, the closest and the most remote, fits neatly into an imaginary system has been called a symptom of illness, especially when others refuse to join in the grand obsessive design. It was Newton's fortune that a large portion of his total system was acceptable to European society as the perfect representation of reality.[63]

Manual has clearly turned the tables on Brewster; Newton's genius is not matched by virtue, but spurred on by vice, as his childhood insecurities provide the driving force for his research as well as helping to pattern the results: a unitary world of universal force and lawful motion. The modern temper finds its widest expression of Manual's portrayal of Newton.

Westfall is a professional historian of science and is able to concentrate much more than the others on the details of Newton's science. Reflecting both traditional concerns of the profession with the content of early science, and modern interest in the context of scientific activity, Westfall's account is a detailed narrative of Newton's actions in science—reading, writing, publishing—and in its sustaining institutions —University and Royal Society, Royal Mint and Court. The work established a "behavioral" Newton, responding with anger, action, or inertia to the stresses of a seventeenth-century scientific career. While this work encompasses far more scholarship that earlier efforts: Dobbs on Newton's alchemy, Manuel on religion and chronology, Koyré on philosophy, Herivel on the *Principia,* Whiteside on mathematics, McGuire on metaphysics, in addition to Westfall's own monographic work on optics and other topics,[64] the concerns that motivated Brewster, More, and Manuel are absent. Those works centered on the question: how does science—specifically Newtonian universal physical science—interact with the personal psyche of the man who created it. In the style of the modern academic biography, this question is submerged in the careful and detailed narration of the life.

Rhetoric is an important determinant of social behavior. This paper has investigated how two nineteenth-century men of science developed and expounded a social role for the scientist through their biographical writing. Brewster, a more public man concerned with promoting a

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more prominent status for the scientist, meshed his interpretation with the prevailing political idea of the "man of capacity." De Morgan evoked instead an image of the solitary and perhaps eccentric scholar. The debate marked out the range of possible models for the early nineteenth-century British scientist to emulate. Further research on this period—on the lives of the leading scientists and on contemporary biographies—will show how closely the reality of the role of the scientist matched the rhetoric.[65]

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NOTES

1. As a point of clarification, the term "scientific society" that I have employed above has a circumscribed meaning: the society of those men and women who call themselves scientists. In this paper, I never mean to employ the term to refer to a particular quality of society as a whole as "scientific."
2. For Sir David Brewster, see the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography (DSB)* article by Edgar W. Morse, and the *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)* article by Robert Hunt. The editions consulted for this paper were *The Life of Newton* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1835); *The Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. Constable and Co., 1855); and *The Martyrs of Science,* new ed. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1903).
3. For Augustus De Morgan, see *DSB,* by John M. Dubbey, and *DNB,* by Leslie Stephen. The primary works consulted were "Newton" (1846), "On the Invention of Fluxions" (1852), and "[Review of] Brewster's *Memoirs on the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton"* (1855), reprinted in *Essays on the Life and Work of Newton,* ed. Philip E. B. Jourdain (Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1914).
4. Brewster, *Life of Newton,* p. 337.
5. Jack Morrell and Arnold Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science: Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
6. On the *éloge* form see Charles B. Paul, *Science and Immortality: The Éloges of the Paris Academy of Science (1699–1791)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). There are two other important Newton biographies in the eighteenth century. William Stukeley, *Memoirs of Sir Isaac Newton's Life,* ed. A. Hastings White (London: Taylor and Francis, 1936), originally written in 1752, was composed by a personal friend using contemporary sources. The manuscript became part of the Portsmouth Collection (see note 12 below) and was used by David Brewster in the composition of his 1855 *Memoirs of Newton.* The other biography was by an anonymous author. It was published in 1760 in the *Biographia Britannica* and was the basis of the biographies of the early nineteenth century. For other efforts and a further discussion on biographies of Newton, see the introduction by Richard S. Westfall to the reprint edition of Sir David

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Brewster's *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* (1855; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1965).

7. Jean Baptiste Biot, *Life of Sir Isaac Newton,* trans. Henry Brougham, The Library of Useful Knowledge (London: Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1829).
8. David Brewster, *The Life of Newton,* The Family Library, vol. 24 (London: J. Murray, 1831).
9. Augustus De Morgan, "Newton," The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies, vol. 9 (London: Charles Knight, 1846), pp. 78–117; *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (1838), and *Supplement* (1851), s.v. "Galileo."
10. *National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints,* s.v. "Brewster, David, *The Martyrs of Science.*"
11. Francis Baily, *An Account of the Revd. John Flamsteed* (London: Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1835).
12. The Portsmouth Collection was named after the Earl of Portsmouth, who inherited Newton's manuscripts. Catherine Barton, Newton's niece through his half-sister, Hannah Barton, married John Conduitt. Their daughter, Catherine, married John Wallop, who became Viscount Lymington, and by which the papers were transferred to the Earls of Portsmouth. Scholars had limited access to the papers. Bishop Samuel Horsley saw them in preparation of his five volume edition of Newton's works, *Isaaci Newtoni Opera Quae Exstant Omnia* (London: J. Nichols, 1779–1785), but did not use them extensively. Brewster consulted them for the 1855 *Memoirs of Newton.* In the 1870s the Earl of Portsmouth wanted to present the material to Cambridge University. A syndic was appointed in 1872, which catalogued the Portsmouth material, and the mathematical, physical, and chemical papers, as well as much of the correspondence, were taken by the University, while material in alchemy, history, chronology, theology, Mint papers, Newtoniana, and miscellaneous letters, papers, and books were retained by the Portsmouth family. This latter material was sold at auction in 1936, much of it bought by John Maynard Keynes and eventually presented to the Library of King's College, Cambridge. *A Catalogue of the Portsmouth Collection of Books and Papers, Written by or Belonging to Sir Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: University Press, 1888).
13. Sir Isaac Newton, *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,* rev. and cor. William Davis (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1803).
14. J. Edleston, *Correspondence of Sir Isaac Newton and Professor Cotes* (London: J. W. Parker, 1850).
15. Augustus De Morgan, "A Short Account of Some Recent Discoveries in England and Germany Relative to the Controversy on the Invention of Fluxions," *The Companion to the Almanac: or, Year-Book of General Information for 1852,* bound as a supplement to *The British Almanac of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for the Year of Our Lord 1852* (London: Charles Knight, 1852), pp. 5–20, reprinted in *Essays on Newton,* see note 3.
16. David Brewster, *The History of Free Masonry* (Edinburgh: For Alex. Laurie, 1804).
17. *The Dictionary of National Biography,* s.v. "Sir David Brewster"; Margaret Marie Brewster Gordon, *The Home Life of Sir David Brewster,* 2d ed. (Edinburgh:

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Edmonston and Douglass, 1870), p. 183, "There was both room and need for a review of the highest class . . . which instead of ignoring or affecting to ignore Christianity was imbued with its spirit," referring to the *North British Review.*

18. Gordon, *Home Life,* p.155.
19. William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present,* The Edinburgh History of Scotland (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1968), p. 298.
20. See A. D. Orange, "The Origin of the British Association for the Advancement of Science," *Brit. Jour. Hist. Sci.* 6 (1972): 152–76; and Morrell and Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science.*
21. *Edinburgh Review* 60 (1834–1835): 363–94, p. 371.
22. [David Brewster], "[Review of] *Reflexions of the Decline of Science in England and on Some of its Causes,* by Charles Babbage," *Quarterly Review* 43 (1830): 305–42. p. 342.
23. Idem, "Presidential Address," *Report of the Twentieth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Held at Edinburgh in July and August, 1850* (London: John Murray, 1851), pp. xxxi–xliv, p. xli.
24. *National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints,* s.v. "Brewster, David, *The Martyrs of Science.*"
25. Brewster, *Life of Newton,* p. 298.
26. Ibid., p. 294.
27. Idem, *Martyrs of Science,* p. 6.
28. Ibid., p. 51.
29. Ibid., pp. 245–48.
30. Ibid., p. 7.
31. Idem, *Life of Newton,* p. 293.
32. Idem, *Martyrs of Science,* p. 248.
33. Ibid., p. 230.
34. Idem, *Life of Newton,* p. 294.
35. Idem, *Martyrs of Science,* p. 53.
36. Ibid., p. 77.
37. Ibid., p. 90.
38. *DSB,* s.v. "De Morgan, Augustus," by John Duffey and *DNB,* s.v. "De Morgan, Augustus," by Leslie Stephen.
39. Biot, *Life of Newton;* see note 7.
40. Augustus De Morgan, "On a Point Connected with the Dispute between Keill and Leibnitz about the Invention of Fluxions," *Phil. Trans.,* 1846, pp. 107–9; "On the Addition Made to the Second Edition of the *Commercium Epistolicum,*" *Philosophical Magazine,* 3d series, 32 (1848): 446–56; "A Short Account of Recent Discoveries in England and Germany Relating to the Controversy on the Invention of Fluxions," *The Companion to the British Almanac of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge for 1852* (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1852), pp. 5–20; "On the Authorship of the 'Account of the *Commercium Epistolicum,*' Published in the *Philosophical Transactions,*" *Philosophical Magazine,* 4th series, 3 (1852): 440–44; "On the Early History of Infinitesimals in England," ibid., 4 (1852): 321–30; all cited in *Essays on Newton,* pp. vii–viii.
41. Idem, "[Review of] Brewster," in *Essays on Newton,* p. 161.

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42. The work was expanded by De Morgan in 1864–66, and again at a later date, according to the preface, and published in 1885 by Elliot Stock, London.
43. Frank Manual, *A Portrait of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard/Belknap Press, 1968), p. viii.
44. Augustus De Morgan, *A Budget of Paradoxes,* 2d ed., 2 vols. (Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1915), 1: 75–80.
45. Idem, "Newton," p. 50.
46. Brewster, *Life of Newton* (1831 edition), pp. 283–84, 295.
47. De Morgan, "Newton," pp. 53–62.
48. Brewster, *Memoirs of Newton,* 1: xv, 2: 313–59.
49. See note 4.
50. De Morgan, "Newton," p. 37.
51. Ibid., p. 26.
52. Ibid., pp. 27–28.
53. Ibid., p. 62.
54. Ibid., p. 63.
55. Louis Trenchard More, *Isaac Newton: A Biography* (1934; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1962).
56. Manual, *Portrait of Newton.*
57. Richard S. Westfall, *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: University Press, 1980).
58. More, *Newton,* p. 287.
59. Ibid., p. 62.
60. Ibid., pp. 253, 78.
61. Ibid., p. 16, italics added.
62. Manual, *Portrait of Newton,* pp. 386–87; the first extant letter dates from his twenty-seventh year.
63. Ibid., p. 380.
64. See especially Westfall's excellent bibliographic essay in his *Never at Rest,* pp. 875–84.
65. A good place to begin the analysis would be Morrell and Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science.* Thomas L. Hankins has endorsed the idea of biography as a way of understanding the formation of the idea of the scientist in "Science and Letters: Measuring the Literary Dimension, 1750–1850," a paper read *in absentia* at the annual meeting of the History of Science Society, October 29, 1982. See also his paper, "In Defense of Biography: The Use of Biography in the History of Science," *History of Science* 17 (1979): 1–16.

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MICHAEL MURPHY
EDWARD BARRETT

Abraham Wheelock, Arabist and Saxonist

Abraham Wheelock was a seventeenth-century English scholar who had a disposition for taking the odd road in academe, and the enviable knack of doing it successfully. After the usual course of undergraduate studies at Cambridge, he left the well-beaten path of classics and divinity, and set out in two quite unusual and different directions: first, he took up oriental languages and then, of all things, Anglo-Saxon. For Arabists and Saxonists, therefore, a look at his academic life will be of special interest. For others it will also provide a glimpse into the workings of the English academic world in the second quarter of the seventeenth century: they will see the comparative poverty and lack of ease with which even professors of endowed chairs often worked; the amount of teaching that was expected of them; the connection that still existed between scholarship and polemic of the religious or even missionary kind; the political astuteness that was necessary in using every private connection possible to ensure personal advancement in the academic world.

What they will *not* see, though it should be kept in mind, is the national convulsion that seized England during the 1640's while Wheelock was engaged in studies that may seem now, as they must have seemed to many people then, quite removed from the important events that swirled violently around him: the Civil War between King and Parliament (Cavaliers and Roundheads); the defeat, the trial and the execution of the King, divine right or no divine right; the establishment of republican government, and its dissolution in the dictatorship of Cromwell; invasion from Scotland, revolt in Ireland, war with

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the Dutch. But it is clear now that the study of ancient English institutions had had considerable impact on the political and religious thought of England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: it had played a part in consolidating the Reformation and starting the very Revolution that was now taking place. The Anglo-Saxon Laws, for example, published and translated in the sixteenth century, had been used by people with no interest in philology in order to aid them in the continuing constitutional argument as to whose the laws of the land really were: the king's or the people's. Failure to resolve that argument peaceably had led directly to the current conflict.[1]

So Wheelock's studies in Anglo-Saxon culture were not as rarified as they might seem. Indeed this had been perceived earlier in the century by King James I, who had frowned on the Society of Antiquaries and on research into the ancient history of England, especially via the manuscripts in Sir Robert Cotton's library. He had suspected, rightly, that much digging around in the ancient laws or history of the land might easily lead to awkward questions about the Divine Right of Kings, a doctrine especially dear to his heart, and to similar questions about the divine right of the established Church, and thereafter to questions about every other aspect of the establishment. One of Wheelock's patrons, Sir Henry Spelman, had been a member of that early Society of Antiquaries. A staunch royalist and churchman, he had acquiesced in the dissolution of the Society, but he had not ceased his studies into Anglo-Saxon culture, as we shall see.

There is little trace in Wheelock's Anglo-Saxon work of the violent national argument in the midst of which he worked, and it is doubtful that he pursued his studies with any legal or constitutional end in view. *Religious* bias or polemic was his slant, as we shall demonstrate. This was both safe and approved, for nobody was likely to object to historical or philological research in the cause of converting Moslems or controverting Catholics.

If, nevertheless, Wheelock's choice of Anglo-Saxon and Arabic for academic study seemed at all eccentric in seventeenth-century Cambridge, there was method in this mild madness: Wheelock was able to get in on the ground floor of each. For he had the shrewdness and skill to persuade two wealthy men of different tastes and background to found the first two academic posts at Cambridge for his two odd fields of study. Better than that, he got them to designate *him* as the occupant of these positions, and he managed to hold both jobs simultaneously for about fourteen years. This kind of achievement alone should ensure him a position in someone's book of academic records.

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But Wheelock's achievement is not merely a kind of curiosity, and was more lasting than his modest scholarly output might seem to assure him; for while he was intelligent, hard-working and persistent, he was neither original nor prolific. For English *oriental* studies, his importance lies not so much in the scholarship which he produced, for that was minimal, nor in the students whom he taught, for they were few, but in the fact that the study of Arabic and other oriental languages was institutionalized at his university as a result of his efforts. That is, he provided the impetus for the establishment of an endowed chair, so that the permanent study of these languages was guaranteed to survive either his personal deficiencies or his personal achievements. The Thomas Adams chair was established as a result of his initiative and astuteness, and it remains to this day.[2]

That the study of Old English was not institutionalized at the same time was no fault of Wheelock's or of his patron in that study, Sir Henry Spelman, but the omission accounts largely for the decline of that subject at Cambridge for well over a century after Wheelock's death in 1653. This in spite of the fact that his scholarship in this area had been considerably more productive. (See below p. 174 ff). But when he died, the academic study of Old English at Cambridge died with him, and hence any hope of much advance in the discipline for a long time to come at the university—until the establishment of a chair in the nineteenth century, in fact.

Wheelock was born in Shropshire in 1593. He graduated B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1614, and was elected a Fellow of Clare in 1619.[3] How he became interested in such an "exotic" study as oriental languages is hard to say. Part of the explanation may well have been unromantic enough, and not unlike that of Professor A. J. Arberry, his distinguished successor in the chair of Arabic, who acknowledged that he went into oriental languages in the earlier years of our own century because there were no available university positions in his chosen field of classics.[4] In the teens and twenties of the seventeenth century Cambridge must have had an even greater supply of competent classicists; and divinity had to be even more crowded. A man might make his mark, however, if he chose less well-cultivated fields, and Wheelock certainly did this—in the plural.

But why Arabic? In the latter half of the sixteenth century Europe had seen a significant revival of interest in the Muslim East, an interest that was both secular and religious. France, Holland and England had established relations with Turkey and Persia, primarily with a view to trade with the "rich and fabled East." At the same time the

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popes had renewed the faded hopes of the Middle Ages of converting the Moslem hordes. Gregory XIII, who died in 1595, took the practical step of establishing colleges and printing houses to produce men and literature to deal with the Moslems in their native tongues. In 1587 the French King had founded a chair of Arabic at the College de France, where not only French Catholics, but Protestants from Holland and Germany, studied Arabic. We do not know what induced William Bedwell (1562–1632), a graduate of Wheelock's old college, to take up the study and thereby become the "father of English oriental Studies", but he gives us some indication in the preface to an Arabic edition of the epistles of St. John published in Holland in 1612. Arabic, he declared, was "the only language of religion and the chief language of diplomacy and business from the Fortunate Isles to the China Seas". Bedwell did not dwell on the material value of learning Arabic, but he did stress something that was rather more dear to the hearts of contemporary academics—its value as an aid in the study of the Hebrew scriptures. Bedwell's pupil, Edward Pococke, started his publishing career with Aramaic editions of New Testament books, and continued all his scholarly life to have an interest in the religious, missionary possibilities of Arabic (see p. 169 below). The letter in which the University of Cambridge thanked Thomas Adams for endowing the teaching post for Wheelock sums up neatly the reasons generally given in the seventeenth century for the importance of studying oriental languages: "The worke itself wee conceive to tend not onely to the advancement of good literature by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is lockt upp in that learned tongue; but also to the good service of the King and State in our commerce with those Easterne nations, and in God's good time to the enlarging of the borders of the Church, and propagation of Christian religion to them who now sitt in darkness. God prosper the worke according to your pious intentions."[5]

Nowhere in the surviving correspondence does Wheelock say what impelled or seduced him to study oriental languages, nor do we have his inaugural lecture in which, like most Arabists in his century, he apparently set out for his auditors the value and ease of acquiring Arabic. But we can be reasonably sure that he offered much the same set of reasons as we have just indicated and which were set out more elaborately by those professors whose inaugural lectures and prefaces *are* extant.[6] Whatever the reasons or attractions, Wheelock had taken up the study of Arabic by the mid twenties. By 1631 he had progressed far enough to have the confidence to propose a professorship of Arabic at

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Cambridge with himself as the occupant of the chair. He approached Thomas Adams, a prominent member of the Drapers Company in London, with the suggestion that the Company might care to provide the funds for such a foundation. Adams was surprisingly receptive to the idea, and offered to put up the money himself. Even more remarkable was the speed with which he was prepared to fulfill his promise. He enquired about Wheelock's capacity for the post, and got an enthusiastic endorsement from Richard Holdsworth, Professor of Divinity at Gresham College, and also the more ambiguous endorsement of Bedwell, who said that Wheelock was as fit for the post "as any in the kingdom." Adams promptly offered to begin the first quarterly instalment of the £40 annual salary as soon as he got a letter certifying the Vice-chancellor's approval of the project and the professor.[7]

Clearly Wheelock's suggestion had been directed with a remarkably accurate aim, and it illustrates his astuteness in using whatever personal connections he had to promote his advancement in academe. For Wheelock had not chosen Adams by accident. Not only was Adams rich and generous but he was from Shropshire, and from Wheelock's part of it at that. Adams had been born in Wem, a small town about 10 miles from Wheelock's birthplace, Whitchurch in the same county. They were probably not boyhood friends (for seven years and ten miles can be big differentials), but they must have had some acquaintances in common, for at one point in their correspondence Adams invites Wheelock to go back to Shropshire with him to see some of their common friends in Wem. On another occasion Adams invites Wheelock to preach at the annual Shropshiremen's feast in London. Clearly Shropshiremen stuck together, and Wheelock made the most of it. Even before he had approached Adams about the Arabic chair, Wheelock had had some success looking for a patron in Bishop Ussher. Again, it was probably not just Ussher's reputation for scholarship that attracted Wheelock, but the fact that the way to the bishop lay through his secretary, Nicholas Bernard, a few years younger than Wheelock, and a native of his home parish, Whitchurch. Finally, on the matter of Shropshire lads: Thomas Hyde, one of the few pupils of Wheelock's that we know of by name, who went on to a distinguished career as an orientalist and a very comfortable one as a churchman at Oxford, was also from Shropshire.[8]

Wheelock had barely got the assurance of the Arabic post when he was pressing Adams and Holdsworth to do what they could to secure for the Cambridge University Library the superb collection of Erpenius MSS. The famous Dutch orientalist, Thomas van Erpe (Erpe-

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nius) had died in 1624; in 1626 the Duke of Buckingham had purchased van Erpe's MSS in an unlikely coup. The following year the Duke had been made Chancellor of Cambridge University, a largely honorary post then as now. It was understood by the university people at least that Buckingham intended to bestow the MSS on the University, and perhaps build them a new library as well. By the time of his assassination in 1628, nothing had been done to fulfill these hopes, and the MSS remained in the possession of the Duchess. Now that Wheelock was Professor of Arabic, however, he was doubly anxious to secure the MSS for the library. He himself was not in any position to exert direct influence, but he knew people who were—Adams and Holdsworth—and he knew how to keep nagging them politely.[9] As a result of this pressure by his influential friends the MSS were finally sent to Cambridge in 1632. Wheelock had an easier task in persuading Bedwell to bequeath his great MS lexicon of Arabic and his fount of Arabic type to his old University, and these came to Cambridge on Bedwell's death in 1632.[10] Now the new professor was well set with material for research, for conducting his "Arabick lecture", and for the publication of any scholarship he might produce. In the same year instruction began.

It was an eventful year for Wheelock, not least because in the spring he married Clemence Goad, the widow of a late university proctor, and a woman with at least one child, a course of action that was against Adams's advice which Wheelock had, foolishly, asked for. But Adams was a sensible as well as a generous man, and did not take it ill that his advice on this inadvisable topic had been disregarded. (Within a year he was giving Wheelock different and more sardonic counsel on dealing with Xantippe). We have, unfortunately, only Adams's letters to Wheelock so we have no further opportunity for any glimpses into Wheelock's family life that other such confidences would give us, but to judge by the half of the correspondence that we do have, Wheelock was quite reticent about his very personal affairs, and in his surviving letters to other correspondents such references are almost totally absent.

The Adams side of the correspondence shows that the merchant had a genuine affection for his professor. He seems, too, to have had a touching pride in his own foundation, apparently showing around a copy of Wheelock's inaugural lecture to friends, and referring with some regularity and pleasure to the professor's "grinding in his Arabick mill," a curious phrase that seemed to please the merchant.

The produce of Wheelock's Arabick mill was, however, meagre. The

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only oriental work he ever published was an edition of the Gospels in Persian. This was still at press at the time of his death (1653), a full twenty years after his professorship began, and the book (with notes in a still unfinished condition) had to be seen through the press by others. A. J. Arberry, a recent Adams Professor of Arabic, suggests that the reason for his predecessor's small publication record was that "being a poor scholar, he would have been unable to bear the cost of printing any texts he might have prepared, and that was almost the only way of getting Arabic published in those days."[11] But this is hardly an adequate or accurate explanation. There is no doubt that the generosity of Adams would have extended to the publication costs of anything that his professor produced. Indeed the long title-page of the Persian Gospels specifically mentions that it was Adams who defrayed the expenses of the edition.[12] Not only did he pay for the publication of the Gospels, but "at the desire of the Reverend Mr. Wheelock, now with God, he was at the charge of . . . transmitting them into those parts . . . promoting the Christian religion, and (to use his own language) throwing a stone at the forehead of Mahomet that grand imposter."[13] Wheelock himself makes reference to the lack of type and typographers,[14] though, as we have seen, Bedwell had left his fount of Arabic type to the University. Finding printers to set the type in Cambridge may, however, have presented difficulties. The only work of Wheelock's, according to Arberry, that would have involved Arabic was his refutation of the Koran, but the negative comments of a missionary whom he consulted and the absence of printing facilities, discouraged publication.[15]

This brings us back to the possibility that Wheelock had taken up the study of Arabic with some missionary intent. It is reasonably clear from what we have just said that he did not regard his oriental studies or writings as disinterested scholarship, but to some degree at least as a missionary endeavor or as a polemical weapon. He was not alone, it seems, in this slant to his oriental studies. His greater counterpart at Oxford, Edward Pococke, did an Arabic translation of the Anglican catechism, liturgy and other such works, all of which were sent to the East with a similar missionary intent.[16] Less surprisingly, perhaps, Catholic orientalists had preceded Pococke in the same kind of endeavor. Pococke, however, also published a body of other work which had no such intention, but was meant to open up the world of Arabic culture and history to the West. Wheelock, by contrast, seems not to have been able to disconnect his studies in oriental languages or (as we shall see) in Old English, from his calling as a Protestant cleric.[17]

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His teaching duties as Professor of Arabic were not arduous for, not very surprisingly, he never had many students, by his own admission.[18] As Sclater, his funeral encomiast, put it so neatly about his oriental and his Anglo-Saxon studies: "he discharged [both] with so compleat abilities as found acceptation of all, admiration of many, hopes of imitation but in a few."[19] One of the nameless few who made some attempt to follow in Wheelock's tracks worked so injudiciously hard that he came to an early and unfortunate end. This man got a considerable command of both Persian and Arabic in the space of two months. "But much happier had it been for himself and the world if this extraordinary person had gone on more leisurely in his Oriental studies. For his excessive application to them ended in distraction and death, ann. 1654, just as he was designed to go on with the impression of Mr. Wheelock's Persic Gospels."[20] There were, evidently, few others. There was even a gap of 13 years after Wheelock's death when no professor was appointed. When Edmund Castell was finally designated as Wheelock's successor, he had so few students that he hung out a jocular notice: "Tomorrow the Professor of Arabic will go into the desert."

In spite of the fact that Wheelock had so few students, published so little, and diverted much of his attention after a few years to Anglo-Saxon, Adams went on paying his stipend until the professor's death. There seems to be a small tinge of disappointment in Adams's tone in a letter of 1640 making arrangements to pay the quarterly installment of £10: "I hear you are conversant with the Saxon," he writes, "but I hear no word of the Arabick lecture which (I confess) I expected should have gone forward as in the beginning you did and expected to continue."[21] It would be interesting to know just how Wheelock explained to Adams his sudden interest in a subject as far removed from Arabic as Anglo-Saxon. We get some idea from a dedication to Adams in Wheelock's edition of the Old English version of Bede's *History* (1643). There in obscure and contorted Latin, he seems to be saying that Adams should consider his money well spent in supporting *both* Anglo-Saxon and Arabic. He admits to having spent much of his energies in the preceding seven years on his Anglo-Saxon work because he has had trouble finding type and compositors for his Arabic work. Moreover, he says, Pococke and his associates at Oxford are doing a fine job in the oriental field. It is hard for the modern reader at least to find this "explanation" very satisfying. To be sure, Wheelock did not cease teaching Arabic after he took up Old English, for he mentioned to Spelman in June, 1640 that he had given 11 or 12 Arabic

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lectures that term;[22] nevertheless, it says something about the tolerant spirit of the founder of the Arabic chair that he accepted gracefully the diversion of much of his professor's energies from the job for which he was still being handsomely paid.

And this was not the only other job that Wheelock had, for, in 1629, after he had taken up the study of Arabic but before he had become Professor, he had been appointed University Librarian. Here too, Wheelock lobbied busily for the job, in this case even before his predecessor had died, a fact that struck even one of his supporters as slightly distasteful. This post was not especially demanding because the library was quite small. The more zealous of the Protestant reformers in the reign of Edward VI had destroyed what they did not like in the library —a good deal of material, as it turned out. To make up for the destruction, the regal sum of £1–6s–8d had been spent on the library in the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign. As a result, by the year 1574 it contained a mere 180 volumes.[23] Of course, each college had its own library, a fact that accounts in part for the neglect of the University library, or the Public Library, as it was often called in the seventeenth century. Sometimes, too, donors preferred to give their collections to their favorite college rather than to the University. In 1574, for example, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, gave part of his great manuscript collection—including some Old English MSS—to the University library, but when he died the following year, his will showed that he had given a far larger number to his old college of Corpus Christi to which they were bequeathed with quite stringent provisions. One of these was that the manuscripts could not leave the library, a restriction that was to cause Wheelock some inconvenience. (See below p. 177).

Wheelock's position at the University library was not, however, a complete sinecure. His distinguished nineteenth century successor in that post, Bradshaw, commends the "thoroughly good management of the library during Wheelock's . . . tenure of office." And we have already mentioned his zeal in pressing influential people to help secure the Erpenius MSS for his library. It was also during his tenure of office that the library got the collection of Hebrew MSS that John Selden persuaded the Parliament to purchase. So he left the library considerably larger than when he took the position of librarian.[24]

As we have mentioned, one of the collections of MSS now in Wheelock's charge was the group of Old English documents bequeathed to the University by Archbishop Parker in 1574. Parker had collected, studied, and promoted the study of OE manuscripts not as a

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pure philological endeavor, but as part of a campaign to search out from earlier periods of English history any available corroboration of the position taken by the Reformed Church of England. So the study of OE had had, from its beginnings in the sixteenth century, a primary polemical purpose, and Parker's contemporaries and successors in that study had followed his lead. An older contemporary of Wheelock's, who was also following somewhat in the Parkerian tradition, but with a rather more disinterested bent, was Sir Henry Spelman, whom Wheelock met in 1637 while Spelman was using the OE MSS at Cambridge to prepare his edition of the Councils of the early English Church. This meeting was the immediate cause of Wheelock's new and active interest in the OE MSS in his keeping. Spelman, who was already rather old, and who lived in London needed somebody with more ready access to the indispensable Cambridge MSS, who would send him transcripts and if possible check his references and translations.[25] Wheelock seemed the ideal choice. He was the University librarian and a good linguist, and he seemed to have time on his hands, since his teaching chores in oriental languages were not arduous. Moreover, he was always in need of money, especially now that he was the father of a family. Hence he was more than willing to oblige Spelman, and promptly took up the study of Old English.

From the beginning they talked of establishing a paid academic post for a lecturer who would both teach OE and undertake to publish his research into the manuscript collections. The university authorities gave at least tentative consent, and by the end of the year 1638 Wheelock was being paid a salary of £10 per year by Sir Henry, and was in possession of a largely absentee church living at Middleton in Norfolk to which Spelman had presented him. His gratitude to his patron was expressed in a pathetically servile style that smacks strongly of the tone employed by the more unctuous kind of beggar.

Which brings us to the matter of Wheelock's financial condition. The author of the *DNB* article on Wheelock says that his subject "appears for many years of his life to have suffered from extreme poverty." Todd, in his *Memoirs of Walton* puts it less strongly: "We find that he was not in easy circumstances."[26] Todd was here referring to a statement by Wheelock in a letter written in the last year of his life, but many of his letters have the same burden—his need for money. It is hard to decide how much Wheelock's references to his poverty are objective fact, how much his mastery of the art of complaining of want. A rather cringeing letter to Bishop Ussher as early as 1624 refers to the "great cause" that made him intrude to ask for Ussher's favor,

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"for in regard to my afflictions within and without I am almost gone. . . . Your Lordship may task me with impudency, but my estate requireth this impudency."[27] Well, perhaps it did, though at the time Wheelock was a Fellow of his college and a bachelor, and he was also minister of St. Sepulchre's church. It is unlikely that Fellows without private means lived regally, but it is unlikely that they lived in extreme poverty either.

His persistent lobbying on his own behalf for the Librarianship, his selection of a rich fellow-Shropshireman for his suggestion about the Arabic chair, and of a less rich but also influential Shropshireman, Nicholas Bernard, to ensure access to Bishop Ussher (see p. 167 & n.8) —all of this indicates unmistakeably that Wheelock had a shrewd eye for his own interests, and his continual poor-mouthing may simply have been part of his tactics, though one gets the unfortunate feeling that it came naturally to him. Even so, he seems to have been considerably less successful than either Nicholas Bernard or his pupil, Edward Hyde, who obtained some very comfortable ecclesiastical livings, became professor of Arabic and of Hebrew at Oxford, and a distinguished Persian scholar, and like his old master, university librarian at his new university.[28]

Certainly, the *DNB* author is quite accurate when he says that Wheelock "suffered all his life from pecuniary *anxiety,*" though at the point where he expressed his effusive thanks to Spelman for the Middleton living (1638), he was receiving £40 a year from Adams, £10 from the Library, £10 in salary from Spelman, and presumably also something from St. Sepulchre's. In addition there was income from the Middleton parish, which should have yielded him £50 or £60 a year. But there were some necessary expenses that went with the acceptance of the living, and Wheelock had to pay a curate to take care of his duties when he himself could not be there—probably most of the time—because of the considerable distance. The curate was willing to accept £20 a year and a few perquisites, a wage that undoubtedly represented *genuine* poverty. So Wheelock probably got about £20 a year from the parish. He had, therefore, a total income of about £80 per annum. Such a figure in the first half of the seventeenth century can hardly be characterized as representing extreme poverty.[29]

On the other hand, by this time Wheelock had left his Fellowship and had married, and children had followed.[30] Moreover, when he became Librarian in 1629 he had had to post a bond of £200. If he had actually been obliged to come up with cash, he had almost certainly had to borrow this large sum (20 times his annual library salary) and

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repay it with interest. So with family and debts, his income cannot have been princely. The evidence from the time around his death is a little contradictory. Just before he died, he was pleading with the Vice-Chancellor to have his library salary paid in Cambridge while he was in London seeing to the printing of his Persian Gospels. His funeral encomiast said that the Master of Magdalene College and others helped his family out after his death; and yet in his will he left £40 to his grandson [step-grandson]. We should probably settle for Todd's judgement, one safe to make about most academics in most periods: "he was not in easy circumstances."[31]

To return to Wheelock's work in Anglo-Saxon. When he decided to switch much of his energy from Arabic to Old English, he was a complete novice in the latter language. And, oddly enough, there were more aids for learning Arabic than there were for Old English. There were grammars of Arabic, and even collections of readings for those learning the language, which had been published by Erpenius. By contrast, there was no published grammar, nor anthology, nor dictionary of Old English. So Wheelock set out to read the Venerable Bede's famous eighth-century *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in Old English without these usual helps. The original had, of course, been written in Latin, but had been translated into English in the ninth century, by King Alfred himself, according to tradition. Now in the seventeenth century, when the language of King Alfred had developed to the point where very few could read the king's English south of the Humber, and none at all north of it, the Latin text was the "trot" for anyone who wanted access to the OE, and this was the way Wheelock proceeded. By September of the same year he had started King Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care,* a volume that the king himself tells us he had translated to help educate his lower clergy whose learning and discipline had slipped badly during the Viking invasions. Wheelock had finished reading the volume in the same "trot" fashion by July 1639, a pretty good speed for a beginner who had other academic tasks to do.[32] As he went through the OE MSS at Cambridge, he made an attempt to build his own dictionary, but he left only fragments, the remains of a hope that the work "when I have finished it, or have brought it to some perfection may be *instar thesauri* [like a dictionary] or rather *clavis Saxonici* [a key to the Saxon] for the use of those [MS] bookes especiallie here at Cambridge."[33]

The pity was that this undesirable situation need not have obtained at all. In the previous century a good beginning dictionary of OE had been compiled by John Joscelyn, Archbishop Parker's secretary, and

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one of the very first students of OE. This was extant in MS, and would have been a real aid to any beginner, but Wheelock did not have a copy, and could not get one, though he knew about it. So the only "professor" of the language in the country had to proceed as best he could, teaching himself without even the aid of a dictionary. He did not even possess all the few books containing OE that had been printed by earlier pioneers of Anglo-Saxon studies from the time of Archbishop Parker. (See previous note and note 41).

As a result, in the early stages of his association with Spelman, Wheelock laboriously copied out for his mentor's use material which, Spelman informed him, had already been published in the sixteenth century. Indeed, up to the time of his death in 1641 Spelman was the professor's tutor in both language and historical method.[34] Wheelock had to struggle to write his inaugural lecture, a draft of which he showed to Spelman and Ussher. Sir Henry glanced over it with his one remaining half-good eye, and commented drily that he thought it would not please either the Archbishop or the intended audience because of "some obscurity, intricasie and the length."[35] Anyone who has struggled with the prefaces to Wheelock's *Bede* will appreciate what Spelman meant by obscurity and intricacy.

Meanwhile, Spelman, who was getting quite old, was anxious to settle the lectureship finally and to associate his son with the foundation. He made draft "Propositions Concerning the Britain & Saxon Lecture", mostly about the settlement of the vicarage of Middleton upon the University for the use of the Saxon lecturer, who was to give two public lectures to the University (per annum, presumably). The Vice-Chancellor, in turn, made a draft "Order Concerning the Saxon Lecture", specifying the duties required of the lecturer.[36] But by the time that Spelman died in 1641 the foundation had not been finally settled. Wheelock, nevertheless, enjoyed the funds set aside for the lectureship while he lived, but he had no successor at the university, and so Spelman's intention—to have Anglo-Saxon language and culture taught there on a regular basis—was defeated by the failure to institutionalize the study with a final and formal endowment, and was to remain unfulfilled for another two hundred years.

While he held the post, Wheelock managed the quite remarkable feat of editing the *editio princeps* (1643) of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* in OE, a mere five years after he had begun to read it for the first time with the aid of the Latin. In his edition Wheelock printed the well-known Latin in column side by side with the almost unknown Alfredian English. But because the Latin had always been available to

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scholars, even more important than the edition of Bede was the publication (in the same single volume) of an edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with Wheelock's own Latin translation, another remarkable achievement.

Later medieval English chroniclers and historians had made use of the Chronicle while they could still read OE, but this was a skill that had largely disappeared long before the mid-sixteenth century, when Parker and his group had reacquired it. As early as the first half of the twelfth century, for example, the historian Henry of Huntington confessed to difficulties in translating one of the poems embedded in the Chronicle, not the most difficult piece of OE verse.[37] So this first printing of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with Wheelock's translation made an indispensable source of English history available for the first time to all scholars, including the vast majority who could read no OE. The study and writing of the history of ancient England would never be the same again.

Inevitably, such an edition had faults, some of them considerable, but its value outweighed its demerits. On this point I cannot do better than quote the comments of Charles Plummer, one of the most distinguished editors and commentators on the Chronicle:

> Wheelock's was certainly a considerable performance for the time at which it was done; nor can the shortcomings, inseparable from a first attempt made at a time when the revived study of Anglo-Saxon was in its infancy and the appliances were few, detract from the glory which belongs to Wheelock, that (in Gibson's words) "primus omnium praeclarum istud huius nationis monumentum a blattis ac tineis vindicavit." [He was the first to rescue from moths and worms this great national monument] . . . It remains to add a few words on the Latin translation with which he accompanied his text. That it should contain many errors, some of them rather comic, was to be expected; but on the whole it is a courageous and creditable performance.[38]

The Latin version of Bede had, of course, long been available in Continental editions, but even here Wheelock improved matters, for this was the first Latin edition ever published in England, and in the judgement of a noted historian, "his version of the Latin text was superior to its predecessors".[39] The Anglo-Saxon text had never before been printed anywhere. His editing was, as we have tried to show elsewhere, quite tendentious in the Parker tradition, assiduously using the annotations, not only to explicate points of difficulty in the text, but to press a point of view, namely that of the Reformed Church.[40] Nevertheless, in spite of translation errors in the Chronicle and biassed edit-

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ing in the Bede, when he reissued the book the following year with a reprint of Lambarde's sixteenth-century edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, he had provided for scholars at one stroke, the three fundamental texts for the study of Anglo-Saxon England. Faulty though they all were, nevertheless these three indispensable texts were now *printed* in one volume and in a language every scholar knew—Latin. It was no small achievement for a man who was a tyro a mere seven years before, and who had to conduct his study of Old English, as we have shown, without the aids usually available to beginning students of languages even as exotic as Arabic. He was, moreover, not a bachelor Fellow, but a family man with several children. Besides, he had two other jobs, and while they did not demand all of his time, they must have prevented total concentration on his Anglo-Saxon work. Was it any wonder that he wrote at one point to Sir Simonds D'Ewes:

> I am now so full of studies, & of different kindes, Hebrew, Syr[iac], Arab[ic] & Sax[on] that I feare I shall loose my selfe, if I depart hence: here for Saxon studies I am for the praesent fixed by Sr H. Sp. who hath *eo nomine* given me maintenance to reade these Sax. & Brit. Antiquities: I should make an oration to begin the Lecture, but I want all the printed bookes in a manner[?] & have only manuscripts to direct me, wch though the safest guides, yet not soe familiar as printed bookes and fitted for the purpose. As for Beda in Sax. & the comparinge of it with other MSS I should with all thankfullness embrace your extraordinary favour &—— your help; but it is a worke with me of halfe a yeares time to use theire Sax. copie, for send it out they may not. It's impossible for me to remove these obstacles.[41]

As was remarked earlier, Wheelock's studies in oriental languages were strongly tinged with his inclination to see them as an opportunity for Protestant Christian polemic, and we have hinted that the same inclination appeared in his Anglo-Studies. It would, indeed, be true to say that it gave these studies their *raison d'etre:*

> The maine busines which possesseth my thoughtes, [he wrote to Spelman early in their association] is the discovery (out of Bede & others especiallie in manuscripts) of the Apostolical doctrine by comparinge our praesent church with the auncient church here in England: which work will most properlie suit with your Reader [i.e. your lecturer, Wheelock himself] because he is to be a searcher of truthes out of the fountaines themselves.[42]

This would certainly seem to have been part of the understanding about the foundation, for in the same letter Wheelock refers to the post as "the lecture for Brit[ish] ecclesiastical and pol[itical] Antiquities",

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and so it "suited," that is "was appropriate" for the lecturer so to proceed; but it suited Wheelock in the other sense of the word also: it was clearly to his taste, for he took very naturally to this approach to history. The work was not for Wheelock a disinterested scholarly undertaking, but was more in the nature of an act of patriotic and religious piety: it was to demonstrate the doctrinal identity of the Reformed Church and the Anglo-Saxon Church of the great and venerable Bede and his equally great translator and "paraphrast," King Alfred.

We know from himself that Wheelock had few students in Arabic; he never mentions any students at all in OE, though it is fairly clear that he had some. As early as 1641 Wheelock and a certain William Retchford contributed rhymed, yes rhymed, verses in Old English to *Irenodia*, a volume of flattering verse put together by the university to welcome King Charles I. Francis Utley, who reprinted the OE verses,[43] speculated reasonably enough that Retchford was Wheelock's student; and there is other evidence that one or more Retchfords later did a good deal of transcription and translation of OE MSS for a London publisher who intended to put out a volume of the historians of England. But the students were probably not numerous. This is hardly surprising, of course. Not only was the subject a totally new academic endeavor, but as we have repeatedly said, there were no dictionaries or grammars available to prospective students, and for several years at least the professor was a beginning student himself.

Wheelock left no body of trained students to carry on his work, contrary to what Spelman had hoped, and the next generation of Saxonists, who were mostly at Oxford, were largely self-taught, like Wheelock himself.[44] Moreover, at his death, the Cambridge lectureship, which had never been finally settled, disappeared, though the funds from it helped to support William Somner while he was compiling the dictionary which Wheelock never managed. The salary for the lecturer went to Somner, while the vicarage of Middleton went to a cleric whose duties were purely to his parish. Somner was the last beneficiary of Spelman's half-settled endowment.[45] His dictionary was even published at Oxford (1659), and from that point on Anglo-Saxon studies shifted to the sister university. But that is another story.

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NOTES

1. See, e.g., two standard works on the connection of these studies with constitutional history: Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), and

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J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, England, 1957).

2. Actually the endowment for the Arabic chair was not made permanent until 1666. Why it was not finally settled in Wheelock's lifetime is not clear, though it may have had something to do with Wheelock's difficulties in getting students and his consequent diversion to Old English. Fortunately Adams was long-lived, or the Arabic foundation might have suffered the same fate as the Anglo-Saxon lectureship.

3. Lewis Hickes in *Mr Ralph Wheelock, Puritan* (Hartford, 1899) and the entry for Wheelock in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (pt. I, vol. 4) both suggest that Abraham may have been the kinsman, perhaps the brother of Ralph Wheelock who settled in Dedham, Mass. in 1637. Certainly they were both from Shropshire and were both connected with Clare Hall in Cambridge, where Abraham became Fellow in 1619, and Ralph graduated B.A. in 1626. From Ralph was descended Eleazer Wheelock, who founded Dartmouth College and whose concern for converting and educating the heathen Indians would have pleased his English namesake and probable relative. Missionary spirit may have run in the blood.

Abraham always spells his surname "Wheelock" when he is writing in English. So do all his correspondents, with some little variation, when they write in English. The form "Wheloc", which I have used elsewhere and which I derived from earlier scholars, is clearly a back-formation from the Latin form of his name, "Whelocus".

4. *The Cambridge School of Arabic* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1948), p. 2.

5. Arberry, *Oriental Essay* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), p. 12.

6. See P. M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), pp. 16–17 and 28–29. See also Arberry, *Cambridge School of Arabic*, p. 5–11, and Adams's letter in which he refers to the inaugural which he has read. (Har. 7041, f.51v–52, dated May 18 1632.)

7. Wheelock's suggestion to Adams seems to have been made late in 1630 or early in 1631. Adams made up his mind by March 1631, and was prepared to back up his promise at once. (See Harley 7041, f. 55.) Adams's letters to Wheelock are to be found in Cambridge University Library (CUL) MSS Dd. III. 12. Copies of these are to be found among the Baker MSS in the British Library, there marked Harley 7041. Wheelock's letters to Adams are not extant. Large extracts from the letters can be found in P.M. Holt's *Studies in the History of the Near East*, pp. 37 ff.

8. Holt (p. 25) also notices the county connection between Wheelock and Adams, and notes that both Edward Pococke, the first professor of Arabic at Oxford and his patron, Archbishop Laud were from Berkshire.

Bernard ran into some trouble in Ireland as secretary to Ussher, now Archbishop of Armagh, during the Commonwealth and Cromwelliam period, but he eventually became chaplain to Cromwell himself, and ended up in the Restoration period as vicar not quite of Bray, but of his own (and Wheelock's) parish of Whitchurch in Shropshire, apparently one of the richest livings in the country. For more on Hyde see below p. 173 and n.28.

9. For Holdsworth's letters to Wheelock on the subject see Bod. MS Raw.D.1104, 16 ff and British Library MS Add. 6193, fols 80–82. For fuller accounts of the Erpenius MSS and their acquisition see E. G. Browne, "A Description of an

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Old Persian Commentary on the Kur'an," *Jour. of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1894), pp. 417–422; and, more recently, J. C. T. Oates, "The MSS of Thomas Erpenius", *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand.* Occasional Papers I (1979), 1–17. In the latter also there are large quotations from the letters of Adams and Holdsworth.

10. The correspondence about Bedwell's lexicon and types is in Harley 7041, ff 52–53^{rv} and 59^{rv}.
11. *Cambridge School of Arabic,* p. 10. On the same page, however, Arberry acknowledges Adams's support of Wheelock's missionary endeavor.
12. Quatuor Evangeliorum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi versio Persica, Syriacam & Arabicam suavissime redolens . . . per Abrahamum Whelocum . . . sub auspciis & impensis Mecoenatis praecellentissimi, Integerrimi virtute, Historiarum optimarum notitia undique Politissimi, D. Thomae Adams . . . MDCLVII.
13. J. Welsford, *Memorials* (London, 1741), p. 89.
14. In the epistle dedicatory to Adams in Wheelock's *Bede* (Cambridge, 1643 & 1644).
15. *Cambridge School of Arabic,* p. 10. Bedwell's type no longer exists, and was apparently never used.
16. For Pococke see Leonard Twells, *Lives of Pocock, Pearce, Newton and Skelton* (London, 1816); P. M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East* (F. Cass: London, 1973).
17. A curious MS "Brief Life" of Wheelock (CUL MS Mm. I 44) has an interesting view of this and some other aspects of his scholarly life. The syntax and punctuation are those of the author:

> Mr. Abraham Whelock born in Whitechurch parish, bred in Shropshire, Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge where he was keeper of the public library and professor of the Arabic tongue erected by Sr. Th. Adams, born at Wem in the same county, and also professor to explain the Saxon tongue who died 1654, put a stop not only to this noble design but also to the polyglot dictionary and Persian New Testament lying upon his performance, but to learning itself, his industry translated the New Testament into Persian to convert that nation, a design some in this age may deride, the effect whereof another age may admire (He that seeth the acorn set liveth not to see the grown timber oak) and set out an accurate edition of Bede in the Saxon tongue with a translation and learned notes upon it, that excelled in Greek: so vast a knowledge had this thoughtful soul for words and languages: standing in competition upon Andrews death, for the Greek lecture having given the earnest of every expectation, for the propagating of religion and learning, and being able to be the interpreter general not only for the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, or of the wise men to Herod, but to mankind, and to serve instead of the universal character, being by the way the likeliest man to make one.
>
> This humble and affable man, this juventutis Cantabrigiensis doctor ac pater, as once called, died at London in the 60th year of his age, and lieth buried near St. Botolph's church near Aldgate.

A note at the end of this piece [in Baker's hand?] says: "This I had from Mr. Wheelock's daughter, by whom it was drawn I do not know." Whoever it was had no exact knowledge of Wheelock's studies. He did not translate the New

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Testament into Persian; he merely published an edition of a MS translation. There is also an implication in this note that Wheelock provided the translation of the OE Bede, which is of course not true: the original Latin was Bede's, the OE was "Alfredian". Moreover, it was a polyglot bible, not a dictionary that Wheelock was associated with at the time of his death.

18. See, e.g., his letter to Sir Henry Spelman in BL MS Add. 25,384, f.29[rv] dated June 1638; also a letter to an Oxford friend repr. in T. Birch, *Miscellaneous Works of Mr. John Greaves* (London, 1737), I, lxviii–lxx.
19. W. Sclater, *The Crown of Righteousness* (1654) cited in H. J. Todd, *Memoirs of the Life of Brian Walton* (London, 1821), p. 238.
20. Twells, op. cit., p. 181.
21. BL MS Harley 7041, f.58[r]
22. See BL MS 34601 f.16.
23. See F. Wormald and C. E. Wright, *The English Library before 1700* (London, 1958), p. 213 ff.; and C. E. Sayle, *Annals of Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, 1916).
24. H. Bradshaw, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1889), p. 197. For other details see Wormald and Wright, pp. 220 ff. We understand that J. C. T. Oates is revising a lecture on Wheelock which is to be a chapter in Oates's projected history of the Cambridge University Library. See *Notes & Queries*, Oct. 1983, p. 445.
25. For Spelman's letters to Wheelock see in CUL MSS Dd.III, 12, and most of them are copied in Baker's much more legible hand into BL MS 7041, fols 40 ff, which is what we have generally used. Wheelock's letters to Spelman are in BL MSS Add.25,384; 34,600; 34,601.
26. *Memoirs*, p. 232.
27. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Letters LXIX, f. 44. Wheelock may have been thanking Ussher for putting in a good word for him with the citizens of Lynn where he had about that time applied for the position of Master of the Free School. The vice-chancellor and other important people in the University certainly signed a testimonial for him. Clearly Wheelock did not get or did not accept the job. (See MS Harley 7041,f.61[v]). Movement from University to School level was not as unusual as it may seem to us. In the late nineteenth century the distinguished Cambridge medievalist and bibliographer, M. R. James, left the University to be provost of Eton, not a typical job, to be sure. But Wheelock's successor Arberry, whom we have mentioned several times, was on the point of accepting a post at an English public school when he obtained the oriental post that changed his career.
28. In this connection there is a rather engaging story told about Hyde in his old age which has a little added piquancy because of his association with Wheelock the Saxonist. The Dutch Scholar Francis Junius (1589–1677), an eminent Saxonist, had left his own fount of lovely Anglo-Saxon type to the University of Oxford where he had spent his declining years. It had been lost or mislaid, until it was found by two younger scholars, who were interested in using it. The story is told by Thomas Tanner, later Bishop Tanner:

Mr. Thwaites and John Hall took the courage last week to go to Dr. Hyde (Bodley's librarian) about Junius's matrices and punchions which he gave to

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the university. These nobody knew where they were till Mr. Wanley, discovered them in a hole in Dr. Hyde's study. But upon Mr. Hall's asking, Dr. Hyde knew nothing of them, but at last told them he thought he had some old punchions about his study, but he did not know how they came there, and presently produces a small box full, and taking out one he pores upon it and at last wisely tells them that these could not be what they looked after, for they were Aethiopic: but Mr. Thwaites desiring a sight of them, found that which he looked on to be Gothic, and in the box were almost all Junius's Saxon, Gothic, and Runic puncions which they took away with them, and a whole oyster barrel full of old Greek letter, which was discovered in another hole.

Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726), a sub-librarian at the Bodleian at that time, was to become the first librarian of the Harleian and the author of the first great catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Edward Thwaites (1668–1711) used the types for his edition of the OE Heptateuch (1697), and, like Wheelock, taught OE at his university. See Michael Murphy, "Humfrey Wanley on How to Run a Scholarly Library," *The Library Quarterly* 52 (1982), 145–155; and "Edward Thwaites, Pioneer Teacher of Old English," *Durham University Journal* 73 (1981), 153–159.

29. A figure of £80 to £100 was considered "sufficient maintenance" for a man of the lower clergy in 1660. An investigation by the Bishop of Peterborough in his own diocese in 1704 found that figure still satisfactory. At the same time, however, the Saxonist William Elstob found his salary of £104 per annum in London less than sufficient; he was a bachelor with a spinster sister. See Sarah Collins, "Elizabeth Elstob, a Biography," unpublished dissertation, U. of Indiana, 1970, p. 73.

30. *Alumni Cantagrigienses* suggests that Wheelock had sons (a) Abraham, who matriculated at King's in 1650 (b) Gregory, who graduated from Clare in 1653–4 and died in 1709 (c) Ralph, who matriculated at King's in 1645. But Wheelock's will mentions only a son, Abraham, four daughters, and a grandson whose name was Christopher Goad and who would appear, then, to have been a step-grandson. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* is almost certainly wrong in suggesting that Ralph was our subject's son, since Wheelock was married in 1632 and a child of that marriage could hardly have matriculated in 1645. It is just possible that both Gregory and Ralph were the sons of the Ralph Wheelock who settled in America in 1637 (see note 3 above), and who were left behind in their kinsman's care to get the kind of education which would have been impossible in America.

31. His will is in CUL MS Mm.I.37. See also the encomium at the end of Sclater's sermon. Wheelock's letter to the Vice-Chancellor is in Todd, pp. 232–233.

32. His note in the CUL MS of the OE *Pastoral Care* reads: "Per otium, coepi legere librum hunc tertio die Septembris 1638. Perfeci Julii 17, 1639." (MS Ii.2.4). ("In my leisure time I began reading this book on the third day of September, 1638. I finished it on July 17, 1639.")

33. See BL MSS Add. 34,600 f.174 dated July 1639. See also p. 177 here, and M.S. Hetherington, *The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography* (published by the author, 1980), pp. 81 ff.

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34. See, e.g., BL MS Add 34,600 f.176; Harley 7041, f.45^{v}; Bodleian MS Tanner 70 f.174.

35. Reproduced in Eleanor Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England* (New Haven, 1917; repr. Archon Books, 1970), p. 117–118.

36. "Sir Henry Spelman's Propositions concerning the Britain & Saxon lecture to be conferred upon Abraham Wheelock &c. Anno 1640." BL MS Harley 7046, f176.

This is a draft of the conveyance handing over the vicarage of Middleton to the University of Cambridge to support Abraham Wheelock up to age 60, and to all his successors in the lectureship who should become vicars of the church.

Item 5 stipulates: "That the said vicar shall . . . preach and instruct his parishioners usually every Sunday, and being conversant in the history of our British churches and Saxon language shall read two or more public lectures thereof in the University of Cambridge as they, the said Vice Chancellor and Master of Trinity College . . . shall think fit and direct."

Item 6. Whenever the vicarage falls vacant, Sir Henry or his heirs and assigned patrons shall appoint a man "learned and conversant as before expressed" and who has been accepted by the Vice Chancellor and the Master of Trinity.

In the Vice Chancellor's "Order Concerning the Saxon Lecture" there are five items, of which the most interesting are items 4 and 5:

> 4. That the said lecturer shall [give] free access to all students repairing to his chamber, for the learning of the elements & grammar of the Saxon language, & shall faithfully instruct them in the same, & this to be done twice every weeke, for the space of 3: houres in the afternoon, as well out of terme as in terme. Such times excepted as with the leave of the vicechan: & of the Feoffees he shall be forth of Town for his recreation or any other his necessary occasions.
> 5. The time of every lecture to be one whole hour & no more.

Presumably the lecture mentioned in 5 is the public lecture which the draft requires 7 times a year, where Spelman's draft mentions two lectures. (CUL MS 7596, copied in BL MS 7041, f.47^{rv}).

37. Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum.* There is, however, some evidence that OE was read and understood by some throughout the later Middle Ages. See Angus Cameron, "Old English in Middle English Manuscripts," in *Chaucerian and Middle English Studies in Honor of Rossell Hope Robbins* ed. Beryl Rowland (Kent State Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 218–229.

38. C. Plummer, *Two Anglo-Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1899), II, cxxviii. Edmund Gibson's was the next edition of the Chronicle (1692).

Some of Wheelock's errors: "hie to londe comon" (they came to land) is rendered "Londinium venerant" (they came to London); "Heahstan biscop" (Bishop Heahstan): "summus episcopus" (the highest bishop); "ða se fyrdstemn for ham" (when the English army went home): "tum exercitus Ite domum vociferatur" (then the army cried out "Go home"). Plummer rightly characterized Wheelock's translation of the Battle of Brunanburh as "quite hopeless." Milton could not make head or tail of it when he read it in preparation for his History of England. Here are some examples of the text and Wheelock's Latin rendering: "ealdor langne tyr" (life-long glory): "senior longa tiara" (which means something like "elder long tiara"); "ealgodon" (they defended):

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'universa bona (all good things); "Haeleða nanum" (to none of the warriors); "salus quoque nullis" (and health to none); "Froda" (old) is capitalized, and the marginal note says "Dux Normannicus" (a Viking leader). There are many others. Wheelock was aware of his deficiencies with OE verse, and put a marginal note at the beginning of the whole entry: "Idioma hic et ad annum 942 & 975 perantiquum et horridum, lectoris candorem & diligentiam desiderat" (The old and barbarous language here and at years 942 and 975 requires the perspicacity and understanding of the reader).

In fairness to Wheelock, it should be pointed out that his successors until the nineteenth century had difficulties translating the poem, as well as with other parts of the Chronicle. See especially Plummer II, cxxix.

39. David Douglas, *English Scholars* (London, 1951), p. 62.

40. See Michael Murphy, "Abraham Wheloc'c Edition of Bede's *Historia* in Old English," *Studia Neophilologica* 39 (1967), 46–59 and below p. 177.

41. MS Harley 374, 131rv, dated February 1639. The most prominent of the "printed books" mentioned by Wheelock were: Parker and Joscelyn, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566–67); Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (1568); Foxe, *Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* (1571); L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise* (1623).

42. BL MS Add 25,384 f.29rv.

43. "Two Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Poems," *MLQ* 3, (1942), 243–261. On the basis of a statement in Douglas, Utley asserts that Wheelock "had more Anglo-Saxon disciples at his own university than is usually recognized" (p. 245). He appears to mean Robert Sheringham and Aylett Sammes who both published books in the 1670's that contained some OE, but many, if not all of the OE quotations and Latin translations in Sheringham's work, (*Anglorum Gentis Origine* 1670) could be found in Wheelock's book. The scraps that crop up in Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua* (1676) are all from Sheringham's, only with English translations. So there is really no worthwhile evidence that either of them was a "disciple" of Wheelock's or even knew much OE. The edition of the Laws of Ine with an English translation at the end of Sammes's book, though introduced with the words "I have translated them as carefully as I can," is hardly the work of a man who in the body of his text used only as much OE as he could lift from another man's book. The suggestion that the Laws and translation were really the work of William Somner is much more likely to be right. See Douglas, p. 59, n.1.

There are, however, apart from the *Irenodia* publication, a couple of other tantalizing pieces of information about one or more Retchfords or Richfords. M. Bateson, (*EHR*, 1895, p. 715) has a footnote dealing with accounts paid by Cornelius Bee, the London bookseller, to several Richfords:

Item 2: "I say rec. by mee John Retchford £6–10–0".

Item 3: "I say received Aug. 25 by me William Retchford 1664 £3–19–6.

Item 4: "Delivered unto Mr. Richard Richford for paines in translating the Saxon into Lattin."

Item 5: "Paid unto a scoller in Cambridg for helping Mr. John Richford."

There would appear, therefore, to be three Retchfords/Richfords who dealt in transcriptions and translations from OE. In the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* or the Cambridge University *Book of Matriculations 1544–1659* we can find references only to a John and a William in the period of Wheelock's residence.

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Humfrey Wanley's description of Harley MS 438, a copy of the Cambridge MS (now numbered CCCC 190), says that items 33–38, 41–43, 48–51 are ascribed to Richard Richford. In item 56, however, he says: 'N.B. by a note at the end of the work, the translator's hand seems to be that of Henry Some than of Richard Richford." We know nothing of a Henry Some except that a man of the name Henry Some or Soames entered Kings in 1646, took his B.A. in 1650–51, M.A. in 1654, became a fellow of the college, and died in 1658.

44. See M. Murphy, "Methods in the Study of OE in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *MS* 30 (1968), 345–350.

45. For details of the disposal of the salary and the parish see James Ingram, *Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Oxford, 1807), Appendix 2. See also BL MS Add. 5845, fols 159v–160.

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GELYA FRANK

"Becoming the Other": Empathy and Biographical Interpretation

INTRODUCTION

When Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote his famous *Confessions,* he boldly proclaimed that his self-portrait would be one of a kind, that he would bare his secret soul. He would display himself as "vile and despicable" when his behavior was such and as "good, generous, and noble" when he was so. "So let the numberless legion of my fellow men gather round me, and hear my confessions," he wrote. "Let them groan at my depravities, and blush for my misdeeds. But let each one of them reveal his heart at the foot of Thy throne with equal sincerity, and may any man who dares, say 'I was a better man than he.' "[1] In his narrative, Rousseau went on to reveal, among his secrets, his apostacy, exhibitionism, philandry, adultery, and refusal to support his five bastard children. He assumed that those reading the story of his life would naturally reflect on their own. At least, this was Rousseau's challenge to his readers, that they take a look within and test their own integrity.

The tendency to compare ourselves with others is always close at hand when reading a biography or writing one. Cultures take advantage of biography's didactic power by teaching values through the mythic mode of goddesses and gods, the legendary mode of heroines and heroes, and the historic mode of exemplary women and men. Once in a while, an individual spans the mythic and historic and there we talk about an avatar or saint. Many people bear Biblical names like "Sarah" and "Joseph," or Koranic names like "Fatima" and "Ali," inspiring an identification with a legendary figure, as well as with those through history who have been similarly named. We bear family names that represent the survival of a line of progenitors through the

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vicissitudes of each generation. And we are constantly reminded that we must try to maintain a "good" name. *People Weekly* magazine provides a catalog of instant role models, and the sentimental may recall "My Most Unforgettable Character," a *Reader's Digest* monthly feature of comparable import. Myth-making and character-building are the substance of biography on the cultural level.

"If every person took her troubles and unwrapped them under a tree, in the end, each would pick up her own bundle again." This is a piece of folk wisdom passed down by my grandmother, Gelya, through my mother, to me. Yet each of us indulges in fantasies of how our lives might be different, as Shakespeare lamented in Sonnet 29, wishing himself "like to one more rich in hope/Featured like him, like him with friends possessed/Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope." In some societies or situations, such introspections may be systematically repressed—across the lines, for example, of race, class, and sex. Cultural configurations of the self consist of stock figures with variations, as in the Greek tragedies, perhaps. Yet the costumes and the lines change over time, and even plot can be changed and renewed. American models of the self reflect the rapid technological pace of western cultures: Images proliferate everywhere and fade rapidly. We put ourselves together out of interchangeable parts, and perhaps too rarely stop to question the basic pattern, or the fact that we are patterned, or the process by which we pattern ourselves.

The tendency to be dissatisfied with our lives, and the restless searching for a better self, one who compares more favorably with the host of mannequins in our consciousness, has been described and justly questioned by Christopher Lasch in his book, *The Culture of Narcissism.*[2] Narcissism can involve not only self-absorption but an element of self-comparison with others. The self-satisfaction we may feel not being poor or immoral, or when otherwise confronted with another's misery, is narcissistic. Empathy, in direct contrast, requires the suspension of the self to take the place of the other. It permits a person to leave the self aside for a bit, experience something of another's life as if it were one's own, and conclude with a return to one's own familiar self. These phases of consciousness are assuredly not so mechanical and step-like as this idealization suggests (nor is the "as if" always accurate, but that is a later question). In the experience of empathy there is a certain immediacy, a quickening sense of correspondence, a leap of vitality, an insight that catches one up in the interaction itself, and, eventually, a compelling interest in the fates of other people. After all, there but for the grace of God, or curse of fate, go I.

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For all practical purposes, empathic acts are employed in everyday life to establish an understanding of the experiences of other people. While such acts are not often acknowledged, here is evidence of one, in a newspaper article about then-nominee for Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor, indicating her opposition to the use of busing to achieve school desegregation. The *Los Angeles Times* reported:

> O'Connor gave no indication how she might vote on busing cases. But she told the Judiciary Committee that when she was in the eighth grade, she was required to make a 75-mile round trip by bus to get to school each day.
>
> "I found I had to leave home before daylight, and got home after dark, and I found that very disturbing to me as a child and I'm sure that other children who've had to ride long distances on buses share that concern," she told the senators. "I just think it (busing) isn't a system that often is very beneficial to a child."[3]

The statement by O'Connor demonstrates an empathic projection in everyday reasoning. Her opposition to the use of busing is premised by her own experience in traveling long distances to school as a child. She projects her reactions upon today's children of whom some will undoubtedly recall the busing experience positively, in the light of social and political values different from O'Connor's.[4]

Empathy, as a general category, suggests itself as an element in every kind of social solidarity that can be imagined, including tribalism, nationalism, class consciousness, gender identity, and ethnicity. Most of this affiliation probably takes place in a rather automatic way. Awareness of empathy as a phenomenon, and its critical use as a method that may be learned and practiced, permits an expansion of sensibilities beyond one's customary experiences. This expansion takes place even when one is not completely successful in grasping the other person's lived reality precisely. Merely coming to recognize one's limitations when confronting another's reality goes a distance toward understanding.

Empathy in Biographical Interpretation

It is perhaps in popular biographies that evidence of empathic acts most clearly can be found,[5] when authors leave evidence of their methods for creating coherence from the disparate texts from which an interpretation is wrought. The following example is from Norman Mailer's biography of Marilyn Monroe, *Marilyn:*

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> Of course, she [Marilyn] was in a period when the inner life of a race car driver would be clear to her. She was living in publicity, and in all the perils of publicity. (The virtue of little identity was that she did not have to suffer too much embarrassment with publicity.) Since she was, however, the near-empty and close to wholly prevaricating center of every last piece of dialogue she was slugging into newspapers, she had to feel the gap between history and publicity.[6]

While undoubtedly familiar with the perils of publicity, Mailer is neither a race car driver nor a film star, yet he compares the inner life of one with the other.

The thesis that Marilyn Monroe had little or no identity (the conventional thesis, and one that strikes me as a contradiction in terms) leaves an open field for projection and interpretation. Mailer subsequently filled in this blank by imagining the feelings of the actress whose image had been recorded so abundantly on film. A mini-review in *People Weekly* of the sequel to Mailer's book, *Of Women and Their Elegance,* asks the question, "Why would America's foremost literary lion want to pretend that he is Marilyn Monroe and write her autobiography?"[7] According to the reviewer, Mailer has Monroe discuss "her men, every kind of sexual activity and even her menstrual cycle . . . such things as 'Then my shoulder strap broke. I could feel my boob go all exposed and it felt awful cuddly to me.' " Readers may ask themselves whether this characterization rings authentic as a reconstruction of Marilyn Monroe's lived experience. Does it read as cogently, perhaps more cogently, as a metamorphosis like that of Teresias: Mailer seeking secret female knowledge within the exaggerated proportions of his own figure?

A quite different but equally striking empathic intention guided the writing of Barbara Goldsmith's *Little Gloria . . . Happy at Last,*[8] a book recounting the custody battle over little Gloria Vanderbilt waged by her mother against the child's rich and powerful aunt. Engineered for the media, the case shared headlines with the trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann, who allegedly kidnapped and murdered the infant son of Colonel Charles Lindbergh. Reading and re-reading little Gloria's testimony about the prospect of going to live with her mother, Goldsmith realized that she felt "edgy and uneasy" at certain phrases the child had used: "I was afraid she would *take me away . . . do something to me . . .* then IT would happen."[9] A secret language from childhood flooded back, giving Goldsmith the definite sense that little Gloria was talking about kidnapping and that IT was death. In this state of recall, Goldsmith found she could recite the details like a litany: "The

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kidnapper put a ladder up to the second-story nursery window. It was dark when he took the baby from his crib. His mommy and daddy were in the house and so was his nanny, but someone got him anyway. His daddy paid the kidnapper a lot of money—but it didn't help. The baby was found in a shallow grave in a densely wooded area. His skull had been bashed in. IT had happened."

Many children of the time felt fear all around them, writes Goldsmith, and they assimilated this fear as their own. "When I was a small child," she continues, "my family lived in an eleventh-story apartment on New York City's Central Park West. At night, after I'd been tucked into bed, I would lie awake waiting—knowing that this was the night when the ladder would go thwack against my bedroom window and I'd be *taken away.* I'd wait for that dull sound and while I waited I'd think about how my daddy would pay a lot of money, but it wouldn't matter because I would end up in a shallow grave in a densely wooded area. IT would happen." While Goldsmith's solution to the riddle of little Gloria's unnatural fear lacks formal validity, I have found its plausibility vigorously affirmed by individuals who, like Goldsmith, were exposed in childhood to the Lindbergh kidnap hysteria of 1932.

The classic statement of empathy in biographical reconstruction comes, appropriately, from author Irving Stone, whose subjects have included such distinctive individuals as Charles Darwin, Michelangelo, Jack London, Mary Todd Lincoln, and Vincent Van Gogh. Stone feels that he "becomes" the other:

> Someone once said to me that you must identify very closely with the person you're writing about. I told him, "Oh, no. I don't identify. I *become* that person." That is the truth. . . . I felt that I had *become* Charles Darwin insofar as one human being can become another human being. I found myself going through all the emotions and sometimes the suffering. . . . So after two and a half years, when we finally came home, I went into my study, closed the door, and sat down at a page marked Chapter I, page 1. And I felt as though I were actually writing the book *as* Charles Darwin. Because I had been that close to him, and that's how close you can get. But it takes five years! And it takes unending energy, and time, and all of your savings, and everything else.[10]

Empathy in the Social Sciences: The Life History Method

In the social sciences, the topic of empathy has been dealt with most systematically in psychology. In particular, Carl Rogers' work on the clinical use of empathy[11] and the work in social psychology on person perception[12] have operationally defined and quantified the concept of

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empathy. In contemporary anthropology, the term "empathy" occasionally appears in the writings of those interested in cross-cultural psychology and psychiatry.[13] Critical reflection upon one's own empathy, is, however, a mainstay of writings by anthropologists in their private journals, literary works, and sometimes, especially recently, in ethnographies. In the United States, the attention to self-reflection in fieldwork is characteristic of Boasian anthropology, especially as taught by Ruth Benedict and her student, Margaret Mead.[14]

Robert Lowie, in a paper published in 1960, identified empathy, or "seeing from within," as a core operation in ethnology.[15] As he presents his argument, empathy is explicitly cognitive: For example, an ethnologist consciously attempts to maintain neutrality in confronting presumably alien customs, such as cannibalism and infanticide, to discover what they mean for those who practice them. In the view of Clifford Geertz, however, in a paper published in 1976, empathy and understanding *(verstehen)* are wholly distinct from one another.[16] Empathy, he argues, is a "mystical" feeling of oneness. Hermeneutic methods are what Geertz asserts to be important to anthropological understanding; therefore empathy is neither essential nor relevant. Still, Geertz upholds the principle that the ethnologist's job is to see things "from the native's point of view."

If anthropology is the discipline concerned with seeing "from within" or "from the native's point of view," the life history, a biographic method, addresses this task quintessentially. The life history[17] is distinguished from other biographical genres by: (1) *Choice of subject* (Ordinary people, rarely famous ones, representing a cultural group or category, often a non-literate group in a remote part of the world), (2) *Method* (Collaboration with a living subject through interviews, which are transcribed and only sometimes supplemented by other texts); (3) *Formal attention to questions of theoretical interest to the discipline of anthropology* (e.g. how culture is inculcated during the course of a child's development; or how an individual deals with the pressures of contact with a dominant society). For gathering topical information, however, there are far more efficient means than the life history, as Ruth Benedict pointed out in her address, "Anthropology and the Humanities," in 1947. "The unique value of life histories," she said, "lies in that fraction of the material which shows what repercussions the experiences of a man's life—either shared or idiosyncratic—have upon him as a human being molded in that environment."[18] In describing the coherence of lived experience, as suggested by Benedict, empathy may be expected to play a part, as it has been shown to play in everyday life and in other types of biographical interpretation.

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Phenomenological Descriptions of Empathy

In 1917, Edith Stein published her treatise, *On the Problem of Empathy,*[19] which attempted to wrest from intuition a pure description of the phenomenon of empathy, using methods prescribed by her teacher, Edmund Husserl. There was then, as now, disagreement about the degree to which symbolic representation is involved when empathy takes place. Theodor Lipps argued that even the simplest states of empathy are accomplished through the manipulation of symbols. He suggested that we grasp another person's feeling by representing it in an analogy with our own experiences or by imitating the other person's expression until we induce the same feeling in ourselves.[20] Stein disagreed, and argued that empathy with another person's feelings is a direct intuition, an experience all its own, with no need for symbols. For example, Stein writes, we see joy in the other's beaming smile, or sadness in his or her downcast eyes. These expressions are self-revelatory, and we immediately feel the feelings embodied in them.

The problem of empathy was also discussed by Max Scheler in *The Nature of Sympathy,*[21] a phenomenological investigation of love and hate, first published in 1912 and subsequently revised in several editions. Scheler attempted to distinguish "genuine empathy," as a phenomenon, from other experiences in which another's feelings are apprehended. He proposed four types of empathy, or, in his terms, "fellow-feeling": (1) *Immediate community of feeling,* in which the same feeling is spontaneously shared (the jubilance of a winning team); (2) *Fellow-feeling about something* (feeling the grief of a beloved friend who is in mourning); (3) *Emotional infection,* the transference of a state of feeling without any real knowledge of its contents (catching the giggles in school); and (4) *Emotional identification,* in which another person's self, including all its basic attitudes, is taken on as one's own[22] (following in the footsteps of the great). For Scheler, as for Stein, empathy is not mediated by symbols. It is, rather, a direct apprehension of the other's state. According to him, comparisons with oneself, and analogies (as in the question, "How would it be if that had happened to me?") are not part of genuine empathy.

It is important to note that Stein also described "more complex states of empathy," in which we feel with other persons some of the more enduring aspects of their being. Stein suggests that in such cases we assume the place of the other person as the "I" at the center of his or her world, orienting toward the same objects in the same way. This sets up no guarantee that we will really have the same experiences as the other person, Stein argues. Deceptions are possible, as in the case

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of a congenitally blind person attempting to imagine the experiences of a sighted person, or the reverse. The act of centering oneself in another's world may, however, open up ranges of values that one may not have experienced otherwise, just by posing their possibility. This itself can bring us closer to the experiences of another person than before acting with an empathic intention.

By the end of her monograph, Stein expanded her focus to include not only momentary feeling states that may be shared, but the constitution of foreign persons. She writes:

> As my own person is constituted in primordial mental acts, so the foreign person is constituted in empathically experienced acts. I experience his every action as proceeding from a will and this, in turn, from a feeling. Simultaneously with this, I am given a level of his person and a range of values in principle experienceable by him. This, in turn, meaningfully motivates the expectation of future possible volitions and actions. Accordingly, a single action and also a single bodily expression, such as a look or a laugh, can give me a glimpse into the kernal of the person.[23]

In the more complex kinds of empathy discussed by Stein, an individual steps into the center of another's consciousness by orienting to the same objects. Here imagination plays a part. When I "feel into" another's experiences, what resources do I draw on in representing them to myself? Not only my direct apprehension of the other's feelings, but also my own past experiences and attitudes, are called into play. And yet, as Stein points out, we are *often* unaware of whether or not our empathized feelings truly match the experiences of the other person. While perhaps not always "genuine," in the sense Scheler suggests, acts of empathic intention (including self-comparisons and analogies) are nevertheless a prominent feature of attempts to understand the more complex and enduring states of being in other people. Sometimes such intuitions and imaginative projections are accurate in themselves. When coupled with more critical methods of understanding, to be discussed further on, it is very hard for them *not* to be accurate. This is particularly true in working directly with living individuals, who can confirm or disconfirm our understandings as we come to them over time.

The more we clarify the way we constitute other persons, the more we should be able to anticipate not what they will do in a particular instance (although sometimes this kind of prediction is enhanced), but how they might construe things and what their motivations might be.

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Grasping another person's range of values is at the heart of the empathic act. Time adds dimension and accuracy to one's intitial projections, as even very close friends, or a lover, will suddenly reveal new depths. Reflection is often necessary to grasp another's feelings. As Stein points out, empathic acts are sometimes inaccurate. We may feel *for* someone, but think we are feeling *with* them. Scheler has suggested that when we are proven inaccurate, our feeling is no longer "genuine" empathy. If so, how should we consider those phenomena excluded by Scheler's definition?

There is a nexus of related modes of relationship to others that, I think, could be usefully examined under the single rubric of empathy: We compare ourselves with others incessantly, if covertly. We covet others' goods and personal endowments. We model ourselves against cultural figures—actors, mythic heroes, teachers, siblings, peers. We characterize ourselves and others in daily conversations, in which biographical interpretations are embedded. We become "inspired" by other people. We sometimes read another's thoughts, or pick up last week's conversation with a close friend, without so much as an introductory phrase. We are "just fascinated" by the story of Elvis Presley's self-destructive fortune and fame. We "just love" Robert Redford, or "just can't stand him," but love Dustin Hoffman and Al Pacino. We have affinities, unclarified emotional responses to people, that color our interpretations of them. It seems to me that such terms as "transference," "identification," "reflexivity," "affinity," and "resonance" refer variously to the phenomena mentioned here, and represent a related group, perhaps a "tree," of meanings.

Geertz argues that "anthropological understanding does not stem, as we have been taught to believe, from some sort of extraordinary sensibility, an almost preternatural capacity to think, feel, and perceive like a native."[24] Yet, an emphasis exclusively on the cognitive aspect of understanding a person undercuts the importance of one's predelictions, or sensibilities, in achieving a conceptual grasp. One does not have to like what one sees in order for an empathic act to take place. The ability to orient toward objects in another's world—to perceive, even, that another's world may not be congruent with one's own—demands an experience of confrontation, an *entrée* into another world. Whether this step will be taken, and how, has been identified, in anthropology, as a matter of personal approach. When the objects of study are other persons, an empathic element may be irreducibly present, conditioning the tone and attitude with which one confronts and enters an alternative reality. One's very *inability* to think, feel, and

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perceive like a native can be a source of insight and, eventually, interpretation of the foreign. The conventional empathy that one enjoys as a member of a culture may fail in a foreign setting, *forcing* the anthropologist's effort to understand things "from within," and achieve a coherent point of view.

I have been considering the question of the affective content and moral valence of empathy—that is, its link with positive or negative feelings, and with desirable or undesirable social outcomes. A psychologist, Kenneth B. Clark, has linked empathy to the resolution of social tensions, conflicts, violence, terrorism, and war.[25] He calls for the social sciences to use a disciplined and value-oriented approach both to study empathy and develop the number of human beings who are functionally empathic. I agree. I think that the conscious use of empathy, in fact, the decisive use of empathy, leads to potentially transformative encounters. In the context of Scheler's work, it is a pathway to love (which he defined as loving the potential in others). Speaking more modestly, perhaps less idealistically, empathy is a manner of acknowledging, in someone other than oneself, the human freedom to *be,* to unfold. The obverse is that apathy or indifference to others (lack of empathy) may signal a deep distress. In Uganda, the hardship of the Ik people, under slow starvation for half a generation on a drought-striken reserve bounded by military force, grew cruel to their own children, locked them out of doors and tricked them, to avoid being pestered for food; anthropologist Colin Turnbull found this disgusting, beyond his range of feeling.[26] The advice of the head of a Buchenwald cell block to a young man watching his father die of dysentery, expresses the value of one's own survival over help even for one's father. Again, the threat to survival of the self is expressed in a disturbance in empathy:

> "Listen to me, boy. Don't forget that you're in a concentration camp. Here, every man has to fight for himself and not think of anyone else. Even of his father. Here, there are no fathers, no brothers, no friends. Everyone lives and dies for himself alone. I'll give you a sound piece of advice—don't give your ration of bread and soup to your old father. There's nothing you can do for him. And you're killing yourself. Instead, you ought to be having his ration."[27]

Despite my endorsement of the social value of empathy, I want to propose that empathy, in theory, be treated as a neutral category. It is a mode of consciousness in which the affective content may be positive or negative. The capacity to see others as human, like oneself, possess-

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ing the same essential or intrinsic qualities and needs, is proposed here as a characteristic of human consciousness. Yet there is cultural, individual, and circumstantial variation in the degree to which people develop such reflections. As a method, empathy cannot be merely talked about; it must be practiced—tried and tried again—to be comprehended, for it involves an act. The capacity to grasp empathy arises through a circle of experience, introspection, and clarification. The immediate objective of clarifying one's empathy is not only catharsis, which may result, but the critical understanding of one's initial interests, attitudes, and expectations about the other. The final objective is to understand the other. The penultimate objective is to understand how we achieve such understanding. In the life history of Diane DeVries, to which I will refer next, I learned to distinguish my personal transferences, and cultural stereotypes, from the image my informant had of herself. Finally, I came to see empathy as a method in which one "brackets" the self, to use Husserl's language, in order to perceive the other.

A Method for Clarifying Empathy: "Venus on Wheels"

The more scarce introspective sources are, the greater the risk that the coherence of a biographical interpretation will not reflect the subject's lived reality as much as the biographer's own point of view.[28] "The biographer," writes critic Richard H. Blum,[29] "may yield to thoughts on the order of 'I think I feel as he did,' or that 'we are very much alike, really,' or 'I can speak for him.' " Blum warns biographers against "a neurotic premise of false identity" with an historical subject. The same risk is run with living subjects, but here, there is a dialogue between persons. One can ask the subject for a response. The people we try to understand in daily life are, fortunately, more accessible than most subjects of literary, historical, or popular biography.

With the living people around us, we have progressive opportunities to sharpen our intuitive grasp of their being. Looking at this phenomenologically, we suspend belief in the reality of objects in the world to clarify the presuppositions of things. This means that even one's belief in the reality of other human beings may be "bracketed," or suspended, in order to examine the way that our knowledge of them is formed. To do this, we first take as given the experience in which another person exists. Consciousness, the "I" that perceives, is given. All else must be clarified. Questions are then possible, such as: "Why do I notice him, or her, among all the others in this world? What might he, or she, be doing? What is he, or she, thinking?" Finally, you ask

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how those questions and their answers are conditioned by your own thoughts, feelings, and actions in the world.

In writing the life history of Diane Fields DeVries,[30] I asked how it was that, as an anthropologist, I chose not to travel to some remote place, but to stay within my own culture, and study just one individual, one who has a severe disability, the congenital absence of limbs. Social science research on rehabilitation, and on stigma and deviance, shows that exposure to persons with disabilities stimulates feelings of distress in able-bodied subjects. In one such study, perceptions of adult amputees, and even of mutilated mannequins, provoked anxiety and anger in able-bodied subjects.[31] According to psychoanalytic theory, visible physical abnormalities threaten the body image of the able-bodied; as a trainee in psychoanalysis to whom I described my study joked, "It gives me castration anxiety just to think about it!" Some people found it hard to encounter Diane face to face; when she and a friend moved to the front of a restaurant after being seated, for obvious reasons, in the back, a waitress muttered, "She'll make the people sick."[32]

Even for mothers of children born with severe deformities as a result of thalidomide, an effort had to be made to see their offspring in their own image, and this capacity for empathy was crucial in mothering them:

> The mothers never saw their maternity as the rearing of children who were totally foreign beings. On the contrary, it was because they could see these children in their own image that the multiple differences manifest could be assimilated and tolerated. Throughout, the maternity of a thalidomide child was influenced by the search for factors that would make it possible for the mother to view the child as "like me." And it is this psychological dimension, as well as the problem of social normality, that made such issues as normal intelligence, the child's capacity to respond to habitual child-rearing techniques, and so on, play such a crucial role in this maternity. . . . The maternity of a thalidomide child was not simply a triumph of maternal feelings over abnormality; on the contrary, it was based on the mother's ability to find sufficient common ground between mother and child, in spite of the differences.[33]

There is evidence, then, that contact with persons with severe physical disabilities evokes powerful emotional reactions in others. The same, I could reason, should hold for me.

The task of clarifying my empathy has been both hermeneutic and phenomenological.[34] Applying valid knowledge about my society to myself represents the hermeneutic approach to understanding in the

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social sciences known as *verstehen,* a method introduced by Wilhelm Dilthey and developed further by Max Weber. Hermeneutic reasoning is traditionally thought of as a circle,[35] in which one applies knowledge about the whole (in this case, knowledge of social psychology) to the part (myself), and back, again, to the whole (clarifying the content of empathy). Uncovering my concrete emotional orientation to Diane represents the phenomenological side of my task: It was strictly intuitive, based on introspection. For this purpose, I adapted the method of Gaston Bachelard, in *The Psychoanalysis of Fire,*[36] in which fire is examined as an evolving metaphor in western culture. His method is one of topical association—a free association of images around a given category of experience, images that are then challenged by further introspection. In scientific inquiry, the first impression, writes Bachelard, is not a fundamental truth, but one that almost invariably will be refuted. One must break first with the immediate object and refuse to yield to "the seduction of the initial choice." He is talking here about decisively "bracketing" one's first impressions, and seeking a deeper understanding. When dealing with the inert world, he writes, we must restrain our enthusiasm and repress our personal feelings. But when we are dealing with fellow human beings, "our equals," our method, he writes, "should be based on sympathy."[37] As an object of investigation, Diane DeVries appeared first to me as a "crip" (a word, incidentally, that she taught me). It was my duty, following Bachelard, to bracket this first impression and examine its content, including its emotional content for me. In autobiographical writings, I began by exploring the topic of "crips," or persons with physical handicaps.

During the period of my introspective investigations, I was helped by being a patient in individual psychotherapy with a Humanistic psychologist, so that I was already actively engaged in creating coherence out of the emotionally significant experiences in my own life. As I wrote, I knew when I achieved accuracy in eliciting from myself experiences that were significant to the topic on hand: There was a release of emotion, a burst of laughter, deep sobbing, dry retching. Over several months, I examined, in turn, the following topics: (1) People I could remember who were "crips," and my feelings about them; (2) The ways in which, on the basis of physical limitations, I could be considered a "crip," and (3) Experiences in my life in which I had experienced "lack" or "loss." The third topic was predicated by a direct apprehension of Diane's body as *missing* something, and on a corresponding feeling of deep sadness.[38] The investigations became deeper and more precise with respect to the "fit" between the initial image I

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perceived in Diane and the sense of lack and loss in me.[39] As my emotions were discharged, my presuppositions about Diane's life became clear to me: I had expected to find a victim. Instead, as my therapist pointed out to me, I had found a survivor.

In a life history, subjects may accept what is written about them, or they might reject some part, or even all of it.[40] It is important to listen to objections, as they reflect as much about the sense of self as do positive statements. Here, again, I turned to a hermeneutic, recalling the importance placed by Erik Erikson, in his biography, *Young Man Luther,* on the "fit in the choir," in which Martin Luther reportedly cried out during the mass, "It isn't me!" or "I am *not!*"[41] The following story demonstrates this means of clarifying the life historian's empathy, using the subject's response to a biographical interpretation as data: Diane had commented very favorably on a particular paragraph in an early draft, "Page 2—last ¶ was superb. I really liked that." Turning to page 2, I found a description of what I felt when imagining having a body like Diane's, not with arms but with stumps:

> It reminds me of the flippers on certain pinball machines which you jam with a button. These flippers are incredibly frustrating to use. You jam a button at the front of the machine which usually feels as though the spring behind it is broken—either because it was punched too often, or because it was designed not to work. The flippers are weak and the radius of their motion is somehow always too short. I get the same feeling when trying to roll film on a developing reel in a dark room, or worse, in a light-proof bag. If the film jams on the reel over and over again, I go berserk. My breathing gets fast and I start feeling trapped. I want to turn on the light, but that would spoil the film, so I am caught, angry and choking. That's how I feel playing pinball. That's what Diane's arms remind me of. A pair of ineffectual pinball flippers.

When I read this paragraph, I was amazed that Diane would single it out as "superb." It was, in fact, one of the most narcissistic passages in the entire draft, one which I had written early in my acquaintance with Diane, and in which I had allowed myself to explore without restraint the distress that the thought of lacking arms and legs evoked for me. I wondered, self-importantly, whether Diane's assessment of the paragraph had to do with its literary merit, or, perhaps, her admiration for the honesty of my phenomenological intention. In an interview, I read the paragraph aloud and asked, "Was that it, the part you liked?" Diane hesitated to respond. Her eyes were averted. There was not even a flicker of affirmation in her face. Sometime after that, I found a

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different sheet marked "Page 2," in the draft Diane had reviewed. The last paragraph on this page was, unquestionably, the paragraph she had praised:

> Diane Fields has managed to experience many if not most of the key life events that might be considered normal for a person of her age, gender, and social background. She has grown up at home with the rest of her family, gone to public schools, maintained a social life with her peers, lived in a variety of arrangements with friends, had relationships with lovers, attended a major university, lived independently in her own apartment, has been pregnant, and has been married. Interwoven with these experiences, Diane has lived in institutions for the disabled, attended special schools and clinics, struggled with prostheses and abandoned them, undergone frequent and painful surgeries, confronted the progressive debilitation of her body, depended on the assistance of others for her most basic subsistence needs, and more than once has attempted suicide. To me, the life history of Diane Fields underscores, among other things, the power of norms to order a person's life even against the strongest pressures to adopt other standards. I would say that a feature of Diane Field's success in living has been her ability to innovate so freely in meeting these standards.

The shift in my perceptions, as I clarified my empathic projections upon the life of Diane DeVries, is encapsulated in my choice of a title for the life history. Its first title was *Devil's Daughter,* referring to a seance held by Diane's grandmother at her birth, and at which Diane's mother was accused of having fornicated with Satan. The study was later renamed *Venus on Wheels,* referring to an epiphany in which I suddenly saw in Diane, seated before me in her electric wheelchair, the image of the Venus de Milo. When I shared my vision with Diane, she immediately corroborated this identification with two stories from her past involving replicas of the beautiful statue. Dialogues such as this tore down my projection of pathology upon the whole of Diane's life and permitted me to understand it, eventually, as one of essential normalcy.

Conclusion

Empathic constructs pervade biographical narratives, as well as everyday interpretations of lived experience. In this essay, I have argued that concordance between biographers' interpretations of their subjects' experiences, and their subjects' own interpretations, is methodologically and morally desirable. By making this argument, I do not mean to deny the value of alternative interpretations of subjects' lives,

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but only to accord a certain primacy to subjects' views of themselves. I would argue that a concern with empathy is not only scholarly, but moral, and even political, especially when attempting to understand living persons. Empathy has been contrasted with narcissism, but together they appear to represent a unitary dimension of the human psyche that concerns a basic capacity to relate to others. If so, it may be important to remember that, in the myth, Narcissus dies of grief.[42]

The Introduction presented the example of a political opinion voiced by a Supreme Court judge about the meaning of an experience to others, based on her own feelings about a similar experience. Her argument fails to convince me as accurate; still it represents a kind of empathy. She attempts to interpret the world of others "from within," but in a limited, and unclarified, way. Until one seeks and succeeds in achieving a genuine affirmation from the other, rather than acquiescence, this sort of interpretation must be considered subjective, and not yet valid. What gives validity to the content of an empathic act is the degree to which it has been clarified and re-interpreted, as the circle of knowing someone "from the inside" spirals deeper.

If narcissism is a barrier to intimacy, then the use of one's own empathy for others—when clarified—should help us to understand them. In my case, I had been drawn to my subject metaphorically. She exteriorized for me inner feelings of "lack and loss," providing me a vehicle for exploring these existential categories and for making them visible in the world, thereby validating my painful inner experiences as real. Once I could clarify my own position, I could recognize those areas of Diane's life that were different from, as well as similar to, my own. But, first of all, I had to know where I stand.

Perhaps there is less mystery than wonder in recognizing that, as human beings, we may share essential parts of ourselves with others. Diane once wrote to me:

> It's true that there is a Diane within this Diane who can dance which enabled me to teach my younger sister Debbie, but there's another reason I could coach her so well. It's hard to explain. Ever since Deb could walk she was taking care of me. I saw her body move from childhood's awkwardness to adult gracefulness and strength. But not only did I *see* this, I felt her movements. In a sense, part of her body (the part I lacked on the exterior) was mine too. So, since I *knew* how her body moved, I could coach her in dancing. Do you understand any of this?

My response is Yes. Empathy is a feeling of being "with" another person. In this essay, I have argued that it can also be part of a method

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that helps to accurately clarify what the other person really feels. Essentially, empathy means putting yourself in the place of others, orienting to objects in their world as they would, not only as you would. One should be prepared for a new orientation, perhaps having to let go cherished, but inaccurate, feelings. Our own fascination and repulsion must be clarified, or it distorts. Even indifference must be clarified. Yet, unclarified responses frequently determine what we will or will not confront, and the consequences may be extreme.[44] In a moral world—by that, I mean a world grounded in human survival—it seems appropriate to expect social scientists and humanists to clarify the values with which they approach their subjects and sources. Some of these values are irreducibly private or subjective. I have presented a method for clarifying the subjective experience of empathy in biographical interpretation. It is a method designed for use with living subjects, with whom it is possible to have a dialogue, but its application to biography writing in general is suggested.

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NOTES

An earlier version of this paper, "Becoming the Other: Empathy in the Performance of Social Science Research," was presented at a Conference on Forms and Functions of Narrative: Theory and Practice, Center for the Humanities, University of Southern California, on May 8, 1981. I have many people to thank for reading various drafts of this paper and for helping me to develop its content: Patsy Asch, Cynthia Fayad, James Goodwin, Allan Johnson, Orna Johnson, John G. Kennedy, Benjamin Kilborne, Joseph J. Kockelmans, Hilda Kuper, Charlotte Linde, Peter J. Manning, the late Barbara G. Myerhoff, Sharon Sabsay, Thomas J. Scheff, Eiichi Shimomissé, Marjorie K. Toomim, and Thomas S. Weisner. The position I have taken, and any errors, are mine, not theirs. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful editorial suggestions made by the reviewer for *Biography* who read my paper, the late Youngsook Kim Harvey.

1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions,* trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1954), p. 17.
2. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York, Norton, 1978). A psychoanalytic treatment of narcissism appears in Heinz Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self* (New York: International Universities Press, 1977). Kohut contrasts narcissism with empathy.
3. Jim Mann, "Conservative Role Indicated by O'Connor," *The Los Angeles Times* (September 11, 1981), Part I, p. 1.
4. From the standpoint of the history of civil rights, it is ironic to note that President John F. Kennedy's decision to send National Guard troops to escort two Black students to enroll at the University of Alabama, over the opposition of Governor George C. Wallace, also was justified by an appeal to empathy. "If an

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American," Kennedy said, "because his skin is dark, cannot enjoy the full and free life that all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?"

5. Lynn Z. Bloom, "Popular and Super-Pop Biographies: Definitions and Distinctions," *Biography,* III:3 (Summer 1980), 225–239.
6. Norman Mailer, *Marilyn: A Biography* (New York: Warner, 1975), p. 129.
7. Picks & Pans, *People Weekly* (January 12, 1981).
8. Barbara Goldsmith, *Little Gloria . . . Happy at Last* (New York: Knopf, 1980).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xii.
10. Quoted in Irvin Ashkenazy, "Special People: Jean and Irving Stone," *Westways* (March 1981): 60–65.
11. Rogers considers empathy to be one of six essential conditions of effective psychotherapy: "To sense the client's private world as if it were your own, but without ever losing the 'as if' quality—this is empathy, and this seems essential to therapy. To sense the client's anger, fear, or confusion as if it were your own, yet without your own anger, fear, or confusion getting bound up in it, is the condition we are endeavoring to describe." In "The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapeutic Personality Change," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* XXI:2 (1957), 95–103. Empathic understanding is treated as a quantifiable variable in a psychological testing instrument, The Relationship Inventory. G. T. Barrett-Lennard, "Dimensions of Therapist Response as Causal Factors in Therapeutic Change," *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied,* LXXVI:43 (1963), 1–36; "The Relationship Inventory: Development and Adaptations," JSAS *Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology,* VIII:68 (1978), 1–41.
12. The literature on person perception is vast. In an early article on "The Relative Reliability of Men and Women in Intuitive Judgments of Character" (*British Journal of Psychology* No. 19, 1929, pp. 16–238), C. W. Valentine examined the belief, for example, that women are more intuitive than men, by performing an experiment that exposed both groups to information about an individual previously unknown to them. He found that women were not superior to men in forming accurate judgments about other people, once men "give their minds to the task!" A useful anthology is Renato Tagiuri and Luigi Petrullo's *Person Perception and Interpersonal Behavior* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1958).
13. See, for example, Waud H. Kracke, "Kagwahiv Mourning: Dreams of a Bereaved Father," *Ethos,* IX:4 (Winter 1981), 258–275. He writes: "It is sometimes averred that empathic understanding cannot be gained of the inner experience of a person of a culture very different from one's own, at least not deep enough to make possible depth interviewing of a psychoanalytic sort, either because the terms in which people in some other cultures conceive and talk about their inner life are so different from ours, or because empathy and mutual understanding are too difficult across the barrier of cultural difference. . . . Such questions . . . raise fundamental issues for anthropological investigation; but they go especially to the heart of the enterprise of cross-cultural psychoanalytic investigation, which depends sensitively on empathic understanding."
14. Vincent Crapanzano writes, in *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. ix–xi): "Ever since my first experience in field

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work—it was with Haitians in New York City, for a course with Margaret Mead—I have been deeply concerned with the anthropologist's impress on the material he collects and his presentation of it. Anthropologists have been inclined to proclaim neutrality and even invisibility in their field work: certainly they have tended to efface themselves in their descriptive ethnographies. I have come to believe that in doing so they have acted in what Jean-Paul Sartre would call bad faith and have presented an inaccurate picture of ethnography and what it can reveal. . . . The ethnographic encounter, like any encounter between individuals or, for that matter, with oneself in moments of self-reflection, is always a complex negotiation in which the parties to the encounter acquiesce to a certain reality. . . . In the ethnographic encounter, where the matter at hand is the knowledge of the Other and his reality, there is a very strong compulsion to attribute the negotiated reality to one's informant. There are, to be sure, all sorts of analytic strategies that have been devised to distinguish between what is specific to an encounter and what is typical, general, or even universal. . . . They frequently presuppose a degree of lucidity that is impossible for any participant within the encounter. The anthropologist has no more privileged access to lucidity than did the impassioned heroes of Racinian tragedy. . . . (I am aware of the fact that my argument, too, is the product of an ideology, which, from within, I would characterize as self-reflective, involuted, inevitably circular, ironic, and not without a certain iconoclasm.) My point here is that, as anthropologists, we have a responsibility to the people we study, if not to our readers, to recognize the ethical and political implications of our discipline. Every interpretive strategy, including those implicit within description itself, involves choice and falls, thereby, into the domain of ethics and politics."

14. Robert H. Lowie, "Empathy, or 'Seeing From Within,' " in *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin,* ed. Stanley Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 145–159.
15. Clifford Geertz, "From the Native's Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding," in *Meaning in Anthropology,* eds. Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976). Reprinted in *Interpretive Social Science: A Reader,* eds. Paul Rabinow and William M. Sullivan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 225–241.
16. L. L. Langness and Gelya Frank, *Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography* (Novato, California: Chandler and Sharp, 1981).
17. In Margaret Mead, ed., *An Anthropologist at Work: The Writings of Ruth Benedict.* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1959), p. 469.
18. Edith Stein, *On the Problem of Empathy,* trans. Waltraut Stein (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).
19. Gordon Allport, in *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation* (New York: Henry Holt, 1937), presents empathy in terms of the imitation of gestures. The example is a photograph of a pole vaulting event, in which some of the spectators are imitating the athlete's motions, jumping as he does.
20. Max Scheler, *The Nature of Sympathy,* trans. Peter Heath (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).
21. Scheler writes that this last kind of empathy, "emotional identification," happens

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unconsciously. It is related to Freud's concept of "identification." In *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (trans. James Strachey, New York: Bantam Books, 1960, pp. 46–53), Freud describes "identification" as an emotional tie to a figure who serves as a model for oneself. Specifically, he uses it as the primary or original tie in the life of the individual, arising in connection with one's parent of the same sex, although later it can arise on the basis of some quality perceived to be in common with another person.

22. Stein, *Op. cit.*, pp. 98–99.
23. Geertz considers the public reaction to the posthumously published field diaries of Bronislaw Malinowski *(A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term)* as the starting point for his argument. "Most of the shock," he writes, "seems to have arisen from the mere discovery that Malinowski was not, to put it delicately, an unmitigated nice guy. He had rude things to say about the natives he was living with and rude words to say it in. He spent a great deal of his time wishing he were elsewhere. . . . The discussion eventually came down to Malinowski's moral character or lack of it; ignored was the genuinely profound question his book raised, namely, if anthropological understanding does not stem, as we have been taught to believe, from some sort of extraordinary sensibility, an almost preternatural capacity to think, feel, and perceive like a native (a word, I should hurry to say, I use here 'in the strict sense of the term'), then how is anthropological knowledge of the way natives think, feel, and perceive possible? . . . If we are going to cling—as in my opinion, we must—to the injunction to see things from the native's point of view, what is our position when we can no longer claim some unique form of psychological closeness, a sort of transcultural identification, with our subjects? What happens to *Verstehen* when *Einfülen* disappears?" (*Op. cit.*, pp. 225–226).
25. Kenneth B. Clark, "Empathy: A Neglected Topic in Psychological Research," *American Psychologist*, XXXV:2 (1980), 187–190. Clark argues that, among the higher animals, empathy is unique to humans as a result of neurological evolution, as empathy is associated with the anterior frontal lobes of the brain, which are the most recently developed portion. Lobotomized individuals are reported to lose, among other capacities for abstract thought, the capacity to empathize with others. Another argument proposes empathy as a pan-human phenomenon because of the universality of the facial expressions accompanying the primary emotions, as described by P. Ekman, W. V. Friesen, and P. Ellsworth, *Emotion in the Human Face: Guidelines for Research and an Integration of Findings* (Elmsford, New York: Pergamon, 1972).
26. Colin M. Turnbull, *The Mountain People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).
27. Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), p. 111. It may be more correct to say that the quote expresses a disturbance in a cultural norm for empathy, since, in fact, the speaker does extend his empathy to the young man: "You ought to be having his ration." In defining empathy, Clark (*Op. cit.*, p. 188) uses the example of the sharing of food: "Empathy dictates that one's hunger be placed in the context of the perception of the possibility that another might also be experiencing hunger. Empathy requires that in sensing the hunger of another, one might be restrained in satisfying one's own hunger."
28. Consider the comparison of accounts by biographers of the "lost years" in Shake-

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speare's life. William McKinley Runyan, "Alternative Accounts of Lives: An Argument for Epistemological Relativism" (*Biography,* III:3, Summer 1980, 209–224), writes: "The tendency of writers to perceive, select, and imagine facts about Shakespeare's life that resemble the facts of their own lives can be illustrated by different attempts to account for the "lost years" in Shakespeare's life, from approximately ages twenty-one through twenty-eight, where there is a gap in our biographical knowledge. A former soldier (in a book titled *Sergeant Shakespeare*) argued that Shakespeare enlisted and served in the army during this time. Lawyers have argued that Shakespeare was a member of the legal profession. An authority on canoeing argued that Shakespeare was a sailor during these years, and had earlier sailed with Sir Francis Drake on the *Golden Hind.*"

29. Richard H. Blum, "Psychological Processes in Preparing Contemporary Biography," *Biography,* IV:4 (Fall 1981), 293–311.
30. Gelya Frank, *Venus on Wheels: The Life History of a Congenital Amputee,* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California (Los Angeles, 1981). See also, "Mercy's Children" (Short story, with preface), *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly,* VI:4 (December 1981), 8–12; "Life History Model of Adaptation to Disability: The Case of a 'Congenital Amputee,' " *Social Science and Medicine,* IXX:6 (1984), 639–645.
31. R. Gilder, S. V. Thompson, C. W. Slack, and K. B. Radcliffe, "Amputations, Body Image, and Perceptual Distortion: A Preliminary Study," *U.S. Navy Medical Research Institute Report,* No. 12 (1954), 587–600.
32. Barry Cadish, "UCLA Project Aids Limbless," *The Daily Bruin* (April 15, 1976), p. 1.
33. Ethel Roskies, *Abnormality and Normality: The Mothering of Thalidomide Children* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 283–284.
34. Lawrence C. Watson, "Understanding a Life History as a Subjective Document: Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives," *Ethos,* IV:1 (Winter 1976), 95–131. See, also, Gelya Frank, "Finding the Common Denominator: A Phenomenological Critique of Life History Method," *Ethos* VII:1 (Winter 1979), 68–94.
35. Joseph J. Kockelmans. "Toward an Interpretative or Hermeneutic Social Science," *Graduate Faculty Philosophical Journal* V:1, (1976), 73–96.
36. Gaston Bachelard, *The Psychoanalysis of Fire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
37. *Ibid.,* p. 1.
38. I feel that content validity is added to my method by having noted, *after* working out this empathic discovery, that persons with disabilities typically go through a period of mourning their loss of a body part, function, or normal role. My source, in its most recent edition, is Beatrice A. Wright's *Physical Disability: A Psychosocial Approach,* 2nd Ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1983).
39. The concrete content of the categories of "lack and loss," for me, involved childhood experiences that I have learned to identify as abuse. My inability as a child to leave or change my circumstances fostered a sense of immobility and oppression, which I think I expected to find embodied in Diane. The difficulties placed in the way of trusting those closest to me, who in fact did betray me, filled me with a deep longing to be understood and to be loved. My sense of powerlessness, and pain, motivated me to chose a topic for professional

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study in which I could face myself in depth and, to the extent possible, articulate and extricate myself from reactions to experiences that were no longer taking place every day, but that still dominated my emotional life.

40. The term "concordance" has been proposed to refer to agreement between an observer and informant on behaviors occurring in a social context. The concept differs from that of reliability, veracity, accuracy, or validity. See Thomas S. Weisner, Ronald Gallimore, and Roland G. Tharp, "Concordance Between Ethnographer and Folk Perspectives: Observed Performance and Self-Ascription of Sibling Caretaking Roles," *Human Organization* XLI:4 (Fall 1982), 237–244.
41. Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York, Norton, 1958), p. 23.
42. Ovid, "The Story of Echo and Narcissus," *Metamorphoses,* trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1964).
43. An extreme case of unclarified empathy is that of Mark David Chapman, the accused murderer of John Lennon, who it appears could not distinguish himself from the rock star: "Since he was a child, Chapman had attached himself to his hero's star, first as a fan, then as an imitator, finally as killer. Indeed, it is possible that in some distorted, Dostoyevskian mirror within his mind, he saw himself as Lennon—and the real Lennon as a threatening imposter. . . . To be sure, the parallels that Chapman established between his own life and Lennon's were startling: both loved music as adolescents, both were in rock groups, both loved children, both were devoted to helping others, and both married Asian women who were older than themselves (Lennon's wife by seven years, Chapman's by four). 'There's very strong evidence that Chapman very much wanted to be Lennon,' says Stuart Berger, a New York forensic psychiatrist. 'He slowly became delusional and incorporated Lennon into his sense of self. The only obstacle that stood in the way of his becoming Lennon was Lennon.' Now, as he sits in detention at Rikers Island prison complex in the East River, he must face the awful reality of being Mark David Chapman." Quoted from Gerald Clarke, "A Lethal Delusion: The Twisted Man Who Wanted To Be Lennon," *Time* (December 22, 1980), p. 29.

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MARVIN MARCUS

Mori Ōgai and Biography as a Literary Genre in Japan

The name of Mori Ōgai is virtually synonymous with the modernization of Japanese literature. In addition to his status as one of the preeminent authors and translators of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japan, Ōgai is also responsible for introducing Western literary criticism and aesthetic philosophy. Yet this pioneering figure was at the same time rooted in the traditions of Japan's past, a past that he explored in a trilogy of biographies written between 1916 and 1918. The subjects of these biographies—Shibue Chūsai, Isawa Ranken, and Hōjō Katei—are rather obscure Confucian scholars of the late Edo period (1600–1868). This fact, coupled with Ōgai's difficult, archaic style, accounts for the chilly public reception that greeted his biographies. But Japanese critics have found much to admire in them. *Shibue Chūsai,* in fact, has been singled out not only as Ōgai's finest work, but as one of the masterpieces of modern Japanese literature.

In order to understand the significance of Ōgai's biographies, it will be necessary to place them in the context of Japan's long tradition of biographical writing. To begin with, we must turn to the Meiji period (1868–1912), when biography started to achieve widespread popularity in Japan. First, it is abundantly clear that the great literary peaks of this period—works such as Futabatei's *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1889), Tōson's *Hakai* (The Broken Commandment, 1906), and Sōseki's *Kokoro* (The Heart, 1914)—are not biographies. There was no Japanese Dr. Johnson inspiring his Boswell. Rather, modern Japanese biography got off to a very modest start, as an offshoot of the wholesale importation of Western culture during the first two Meiji decades

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(1868–1888). This period marks the earliest Japanese confrontation with the Western literature of individualism, and much of this literature was biographical. The first such work was Samuel Smiles's *Self Help,* a series of short didactic biographies of the hortatory school. It was translated in 1871 by a well-respected Confucianist, Nakamura Keiu, and became so popular that it was reprinted many times, eventually earning the nickname of *Meiji no seisho,* the Bible of the Meiji period.

The popularity of the new utilitarian success ethic led to the translation of a motley assortment of books. In general, the fascination with Western culture packaged in biographical form had a two-fold effect: first, it acquainted a broad readership with the basic form and content of Western biography; and second, it affirmed the value of the autonomous, self-sufficient individual. Both of these were important cornerstones needed to support a developing tradition of biography in Japan.

Naturally, literary values were not called into question during this early phase, when translators were having a hard enough time just deciphering texts. But an expanding readership and an increasingly discriminating literary taste slowly created a demand for more sophisticated work. It should be noted, however, that even as early as the 1870's, several rudimentary biographies by Japanese writers made their appearance. Their subjects were figures such as Saigō Takamori, the legendary hero of the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. But these works were little more than thin dramatic sketches, holdovers of late Edo literature devoid of any serious attempt at characterization or objectivity. Then, with the 1880's, a burgeoning libertarian political mood helped inspire a new genre, the political novel. These were serious but immature works, once again derived from Western literary models (Disraeli's *Coningsby,* for example).

Paralleling this were developments within the People's Rights movement of the 1880's. The romantic idealism of this decade encouraged the writing of didactic biography, which characteristically took the form of serial biographies, modeled after books like *Self Help.* Perhaps the best of the lot, in that it was based on careful research and documentation, is Komuro Shinsuke's *Tōyō minken hyakkaden* (People's Rights in the Far-East—One Hundred Biographies, 1884), sketches of a hundred individuals in the Edo period who struggled against feudal oppression and hardship. By and large, the novels and biographies of the 1880's indeed reflect an intense concern for the individual and his relation to society, and this surely strikes at the heart of the Meiji cultural transformation. Nevertheless, they remain the work

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of exuberant amateurs experimenting with exciting, but as yet alien, ideas and techniques.

The real turning-point for Meiji biography came in the 1890's, with the Min'yūsha, one of the early literary coteries that would rise to prominence on the cultural scene. Its leader, Tokutomi Sohō, was a humanist much influenced by the biographical writings of Thomas Carlyle, and the group produced, over a period of some fifteen years, a large quantity of biography. Its most important project was a seventeen-volume series of Western and Japanese literary biographies. The idea for such an encyclopedic series was derived from American and English models, but of greater interest is the fact that for the first time serious and talented authors, including several who would go on to have distinguished literary careers, were writing biography. For instance, Tokutomi Roka, Sohō's brother, wrote a biography of Tolstoy, and Kitamura Tōkoku wrote one of Emerson. Kunikida Doppo, too, though not associated with this particular project, got his literary baptism as a Min'yūsha writer. His very first publication, in fact, was a collection of brief *risshiden* (success-story biographies) of men like Lincoln, Franklin, and Wellington. Doppo's enthusiasm for his subjects is evident. He is particularly taken with the young Franklin, and was an avid reader of Franklin's autobiography.

The Min'yūsha is important to us for two reasons: it played a key role as a fraternity of like-minded ideologues and romantics, and its large output of biographies served to strengthen the popularity of the genre.

Outdoing the Min'yūsha as a source of biography was the Hakubunkan, one of the most prominent Meiji publishing houses. By the mid-1890's, the market for biography was so strong that the Hakubunkan had to hire a large staff of writers to meet the demand. At its peak, the house was turning out three or four biographical series simultaneously. And here, once again, one sees important Meiji novelists who got their start writing biography. Kōda Rohan[1] contributed a biography of Inō Tadataka, a late-Edo period geographer who had produced the first accurate map of Japan. Tayama Katai[2] wrote a biography of the great eighteenth-century literati painter, Ike no Taiga. And Ueda Bin[3] wrote a biography of Jesus.

Unlike the Min'yūsha writers, who had an ideological ax to grind and who where granted relative freedom of expression, the Hakubunkan biographers wrote for the mass market and followed a format that was more-or-less standardized. By the same token, however, the ideological zeal of the Min'yūsha group probably impaired the objec-

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tivity of their work. Tōkoku's *Emerson,* for example, is more an explication of his subject's transcendentalism than it is a conventional biography.

Up to the mid-1890's, even the best biographical writing in Japan relied solely on secondary sources—"armchair biography," one might say. But in 1895, a work appeared that for the first time used primary sources. This is Katsuda Magoya's five-volume biography of Saigō Takamori. In order to tell Saigō's "true story," Katsuda examined his correspondence, his diaries and records, and went off to interview various acquaintances who could provide first-hand information about his subject. From a technical standpoint, this can be called Japan's first modern biography.

While Katsuda's research in primary sources marked a new phase in the modernization of Japanese biographical method, the fact remains that biography as a form of literary art—which had shown such promise during the *denki būmu,* or biography boom, of the 1890's—all but vanished in the late Meiji. Meiji writers simply did not feel comfortable with biography as a form of self-expression. The experiments with language reform that would revolutionize the Meiji novel by replacing the archaic, classical literary style with a more modern, colloquial style were not attempted in the writing of biography until well into the twentieth century. Biography seemed to offer little in the way of a creative outlet, and the Meiji literary establishment tended toward a genre of fiction that eliminated broad social concerns and objective accounts, focusing instead on narrow subjective states. One may say of this literature, which is identified by such terms as *shizenshugi* (naturalism) and *watakushi shōsetsu* (I-novel, or personal novel), that it typically exalts the purity of everyday, and often first-hand, experience artlessly narrated, and as such it stands at the opposite extreme of the biographical urge to create an artful likeness of another. In short, the Japanese literary genius had once again found, as it had so often in the past, an autobiographical voice.

Those who continued to write biography were no longer the young romantics, the *bungaku seinen* (literary youth), who for a short while had explored its artistic possibilities. The new biographers were dedicated academics turning out ponderous scholarly lives of the great figures involved in the crucial transitions of the Meiji Restoration (1868). To their credit, these works reflect a growing concern for rigorous historiography, an inheritance from the philological tradition of the Edo period. Literary art, however, was not one of their achievements.

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Ōgai's biographies must be seen with reference to the Meiji literary background, but Meiji biography must itself be seen as having evolved from an earlier tradition. What were the premodern roots of Japanese biography? These roots can be traced back to some of the earliest Japanese written records, for instance the *ujibumi* (ancient clan annals) and the official histories of the Nara period (710–784). Much of this protobiography hinged on the notion of family and lineage as the locus of the individual life. This cultural norm has truly ancient origins in Japan, and it has remained a dominant feature of Japanese society ever since.

In the eighth century, this traditional clan-centered notion of the individual confronted a very different notion expressed within the ancient Chinese prototypes that were adopted as models for Japan's early national histories. Of particular importance was Ssu-ma Ch'ien's epochal *Shih chi,* a work of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 8) that achieved canonical status in Japan. The *Shih chi* is a mixture of annalistic, biographical, and anecdotal histories, the biographies exemplifying a universalistic Confucian moralism that sought to guide the conduct of statecraft. Traits of character are skillfully revealed through narrative commentary, the subject's own actions, and recreated dialogue. The Japanese historical biographies, on the other hand, stress the integrity of the closed kinship group and its lineal descent. Insofar as their ultimate aim was to legitimate the new imperial ruling class, characterization was irrelevant, and what counted was the larger hierarchy of kinship relations.

This tendency to embed the individual in a group context has been a feature of Japanese biography up to the twentieth century, and must be borne in mind if one is to understand the problems facing modern biography in Japan. The *OED* defines biography as "the history of the lives of individual men, as a branch of literature." Pre-modern Japanese biography might be defined as "a series of individual lives that make up a group, as a branch of history."

In its struggle to modernize, Japanese biography has had to do two things: first, free the individual subject from the domination of group; and second, free itself from a subservience to history. These goals have been fully realized only within this century, but a literature focusing on individual lives began to take shape in Japan during its long medieval period (1185–1600). This literature is perhaps best viewed as legendary and anecdotal, but it reflects a genuine interest in the careers of particular individuals and in the broad question of human nature. Its

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two major genres, the *gunki monogatari* (warrior tale) and the *eden* (illustrated biography), suggest the two great forces at work during this age: the warrior class and popular Buddhism.

The warrior in Japanese biography is no newcomer, and once established he stays for good. He makes his rude entry into Japanese literature during the very height of the courtly splendor of the Heian period (794–1185), in works such as the tenth-century *Shōmonki* (Accounts of Taira no Masakado). But the literature of the twelfth century marks the real origins of the warrior tale—for instance, the memorable portrait of Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027) in the *Ōkagami* (Great Mirror), and many of the tales of the *Konjaku monogatari* (Tales of Present and Past). These works consistently portray the virtues of vigorous masculinity, strength of will, and cunning. The frankly masculine portrayal of Michinaga in the *Ōkagami* is in stark contrast with the reigning feminine sensibility of the Heian court romances, most notably *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji).

But it is with the fourteenth-century *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike Clan) that the tradition of the warrior biography really develops. This account of Japan's late-twelfth-century feudal wars is in effect a great serial biography, each of whose many subjects, hero and villain alike, becomes identified with specific episodes and legends. These legends go through a remarkable series of transformations that ultimately involve all Japanese art forms. One such transformation is the *Gikeiki,* a fifteenth-century collection of tales of Yoshitsune. It gathers together the many legendary accounts of this ever-popular warrior, and although the tales themselves are hardly factual, the work as a whole suggest a proto-biographical urge to tell a life.

Medieval Buddhism also furthered a biographical tradition that had its roots in the Nara period: the *eden,* or illustrated biography. Beginning with the Heian period, the *eden* were executed as narrative picture scrolls that alternate segments of a biographical text, usually based on the legends that grew up around the subject, with a pictorial unraveling of these legendary episodes. Most of these scrolls—for instance, the Ippen Shōnin *eden* of 1299 and the Hōnen Shōnin *eden* of the mid-fourteenth century—portray the lives of great figures in the realm of popular Buddhism. Art historians have long treasured these works as masterpieces of *yamato e,* the native painting tradition, a fact that partially explains why so little attention has been paid to the accompanying texts. To be sure, though, the biographical texts are not great literature, and they really belong to the genre of Buddhist *setsuwa,* a category of religious legends and folk tales that was extremely

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popular throughout the medieval period. The illustrated biography form survived well into the Edo period (1600–1868). And with the growing secularization of Japanese society in the years that immediately preceded the Edo period, biographical subjects were increasingly found outside the confines of Buddhism. Prominent warriors, for instance, started to commission them.

To sum up, whatever case can be made for this medieval literature as biography must take into account its lack of factual documentation and objectivity. This is a literature rich in legend and folk tale, and it parallels a rapidly expanding oral narrative tradition, with its variety of pictorial representation.[4]

With the Edo period, biographies based on real events and observed fact, apart from the encrustations of legend, began to appear. This is the era of the samurai biography, and one may cite Ōta Gyūichi's impressive seventeenth-century biography of the great warlord Oda Nobunaga, *Nobunaga kō ki,* as the model for many similar works that would follow.[5] But the virtual deification of the samurai class during this period all but guaranteed that behind the factual facade, the massive biographies of the warrior elite—men like Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and the Tokugawa shoguns—would be anything but objective. These works amounted to a more refined and secularized version of hagiography. In this sense they resemble the Buddhist *eden.*

With this historical overview we can understand why critics like Isogai Hideo have labeled Japanese biography a branch of *otoko bungaku* (masculine literature), whose central characteristic he says is a treatment of surfaces.[6] This is contrasted with *onna bungaku* (feminine literature), which he describes as introspective, lyrical, and private. Isogai's dichotomy of Japanese literature reflects a long-standing tradition, especially strong during the Confucian-dominated Edo period, of segregating the sexes. This kind of reductionism, however, must be viewed cautiously. It is simply not the case that introspective literature in Japan was the exclusive domain of women. But it is evident that certain genres—*waka* (classical 31-syllable poetry) and *nikki* (diary), to cite the two clearest examples—were by convention the domain of lyrical expression and emotion. It is safe to say that from its inception through the Meiji period, biographical writing in Japan had been systematically cut off from *kokoro* (human feeling), from the empathic bond that brings a subject to life. This point is essential to our understanding of Japanese biography and of Ōgai's contribution.

Thus early Meiji biography derived from a long native tradition and was stimulated by a short period of foreign borrowing. The native tra-

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dition contributed three broad influences: the warrior tales, the Buddhist and secular biographies, and the official histories. As biography, the first two fail because they do not go beyond legend or folklore and the narration of dramatic episodes in a life. The third fails because the fossilized historical-biography form offered little more than chronological sequences of official events and ceremonials, with hardly an attempt at characterization.[7]

The imported Western biography of the early Meiji period, then, was superimposed upon a native tradition that had never taken into account the subject's inner life, a literary task that had been assigned elsewhere. What of the literary merit of the Western imports themselves? To summarize, these were a random selection of Victorian lives of statesmen, thinkers, and artists—precisely the sort of thing that Lytton Strachey had railed against. More than anything else they were intended as fuel for the fires of the Meiji enlightenment. Furthermore, the Japanese translations of these works were amateurish and awkward. Thus, modern biography in Japan, a biography of inner character, seemed a long way off indeed even in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Enter Mori Ōgai. Ōgai had all the makings of a modern biographer. To begin with, he was a deeply committed humanist. He had a reverence for the Japanese past—not the sentimental and nostalgic attachment that writers such as Nagai Kafū would later form, but an intellectual bond, one that sought in the lives of past individuals a deeper understanding of the present. He was a historian, then, in the truest sense, and was thoroughly grounded in Western literature and philosophy. He was a writer, critic, translator, and scholar of the first magnitude. He was himself a man about whom many biographies have since been written.

Ōgai had a traditional Confucian upbringing but was in many ways the most modern of Meiji thinkers. He had a great admiration for the scholars who had dedicated their lives to textual study, but he was not one of them. He insisted on referring to himself as a dilettante. In fact, his biographical career has its origins in some dabblings into the past that occupied him during three years spent on assignment in remote southwestern Japan, from 1899 to 1902. There, his curiosity about the local history led him to some old feudal chronicles and biographies. These intrigued Ōgai, and his reading took him down enticing pathways. For the rest of his life, he remained a student of Edo-period history, and many of the finest works of his later years, including the trilogy of biographies, were inspired by these studies.

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Shibue Chūsai was not Ōgai's first biography. In 1898 he wrote a eulogistic biography of Nishi Amane, his benefactor and one of Japan's leading enlightenment figures, who had died the year before. And in 1913, he wrote a biography of Goethe. Rather, one should say that he freely adapted a 1904 biography written in Germany.[8] In both cases, Ōgai was repaying a debt. To the Nishi family, it was a material debt of gratitude; to Goethe, who was one of Ōgai's spiritual mentors, the debt was more profound. Both of these works served their respective purposes, but they are only mediocre biography. What was lacking was an intuitive affinity with his subject. Ōgai stumbled onto the name Chūsai while going through some shogunal archives. What he read about this man intrigued him. He had been a doctor, like Ōgai. He was a devotee of literature and theater, like Ōgai. He was a Confucianist and textual scholar, which impressed Ōgai. He lived between 1804 and 1858, a period of final decline within the shogunal system that fascinated Ōgai. The bond was a strong one, and before he knew it Ōgai was immersed in fulltime biographical research. In January 1916 Ōgai began serial publication, while still researching the final chapters.[9] One hundred and nineteen installments later, in May 1916, it was complete.

At first glance the biography is imposing. It takes up over 300 pages and is crowded with names, dates, and unusual ideograms. Ōgai's Sinified style—his crowning achievement or his greatest undoing, depending on one's point of view—eliminates all rhetorical excess. Sentences are short and matter-of-fact. Adjectives rarely appear. The effect is one of reserve, austerity, solemnity—characteristics that seem to place Ōgai squarely within Isogai Hideo's *otoko* literary realm. But Ōgai prefers to call himself an Apollonian.[10] In a 1915 essay he writes:

> A friend of mine has said that while others use emotions, I use intellect. This is not something restricted just to my historical biographies. It applies to all of my writing. In other words, my writing is Apollonian, not Dionysian. I have not yet attempted to write anything that could be called Dionysian.[11]

What happens, then, when this detached, clinical observer, whose earlier literature had so often represented a retreat from involvement and attachment, discovers a figure who entirely commands his admiration and affection?

To begin with, in writing *Shibue Chūsai,* Ōgai introduced several important new techniques of biographical narrative. First, unlike the typical narrator of biography, who reduces his own visibility so that

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the subject may dominate, Ōgai's narrator, the first-person voice of Chūsai's biographer, becomes very conspicuous. He tells us not only what he knows about his subject, but also how he happened to obtain his information. He reveals his joy at finding an important letter or chancing upon a promising lead.

> I came to have a deep affection for Chūsai, and I told Mr. Tonosaki how delighted I was. [I went on to talk about how I had managed to uncover Chūsai's identity.] Mr. Tonosaki agreed that this was a rather remarkable story. He then added, "By the way, I know Chūsai's surviving child."
>
> "Oh? You must mean the one they say is a teacher of traditional song."
>
> "No, that's not the one. The person I know is Chūsai's son. His name is Tamotsu."
>
> "Is that so? You mean that Tamotsu is Chūsai's surviving heir? Do you happen to know where he lives?"
>
> "I'm afraid I've forgotten. It's been so long since we've seen one another. But I'll gladly make inquires for you. I have friends who ought to know his whereabouts."[12]

Ōgai's narration is a biography-in-progress, and it is a technique never before used in Japan.[13] Its effect is quite powerful: it reinforces the bond between biographer and subject and allows for an added dimension of characterization. Also, it introduces an element of suspense into the narrative: the reader is simultaneously drawn into the drama of Chūsai and his family, and the drama of the biographer's search for this life, for the character who must be patiently gleaned from his many traces. In short, the biographer has become one of the major characters of a skillfully crafted narrative. In the West, biographers such as Boswell and Carlyle achieved similar effects in their work, and the question of proper narrative posture has been a long-standing concern of modern biographical criticism. In Japan, however, the debate has tended to focus on the question of genre classification, an endemic thorn in the Japanese critical side. Is *Shibue Chūsai* a true biography? Is it a veiled autobiography, with Ōgai as its actual protagonist? Is it history? Is it a biographical novel? There are a number of generic possibilities, and the only consensus is that Ōgai had done something unprecedented.

A second narrative technique that Ōgai employs is *gaiden,* the inclusion of lateral biographical sketches of individuals closely associated with Chūsai.

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In Chūsai's day, people who worked for families of rank were, undeniably, social inferiors. Still, deep bonds of affection would often form with the various artisans and tradesmen who regularly visited the family. Chōhachi was such a person. . . .

But the artisan Chōhachi was more than just a familiar face in the Shibue household. In 1839, when Chūsai had returned from Hirosaki, Chōhachi took ill and came for treatment. Chūsai learned that Chōhachi's illness made it impossible for him to support his wife and three children, so he took it upon himself to provide shelter and clothing for them. Chōhachi recovered and was able to return to work. He never forgot his debt of gratitude to the Shibue family.

Chūsai died in 1858, and Chōhachi dutifully attended the funeral. I am told that when he returned home, he sat down for his evening cup of saké and said, "Now that the good gentleman is gone, I suppose I ought to keep him company." He went upstairs to sleep. The next morning his wife went to wake him, but he was dead.[14]

One senses Ōgai's delight with the characters he was meeting, as it were, through Chūsai's introduction, and his subtle weaving of these different biographical threads makes for effective story-telling. It also serves as a means of highlighting the subject and of displaying him from a number of perspectives.

One final narrative device involves Ōgai's decision to extend his biography well beyond Chūsai's death in 1858. Ōgai traces the family's fortunes up to his own present day, including accounts of his meetings with Chūsai's only surviving son, Tamotsu. The typical Western biography is framed by the main subject's birth and death. When this person dies, the story ends. Ōgai, however, portrays Chūsai as a central member in a network of relationships, familial and otherwise, that survive his own passing. The work in fact divides into two roughly equal halves, the first covering Chūsai's lifetime and the second tracing his descendants for almost sixty years. This deemphasizing the primacy of the individual seems to reflect Ōgai's general suspicion of Western egocentrism and its obsession with great men, as well as his dissatisfaction with the subjective egocentrism of so many contemporary Japanese writers. Chūsai is not a great man, nor is he a saint. He is a good man, in many ways an exemplary man. But he is human.

Characterization is surely the lifeblood of biography. How, then, is Shibue Chūsai portrayed? The biographer-narrator relates his deeds, his habits, recreates his dialogue, provides the perspective of friends

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and relatives. What we are not given, though, is outright psychological portrayal. Although he was fully aware of developments in Freudian psychology and their implications for literature, Ōgai remained skeptical about the ability of psychological probing to reveal character. In this sense he must be contrasted with Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), the master of the modern psychological novel in Japan. Ōgai preferred to have character emerge of its own accord, through the many details of daily life. Small details build into a finished portrait. We learn, for instance, that Chūsai took exactly two and a half bowls of rice at a meal; he had a fondness of *unagi* (eel); he loved *kyōgen* (medieval farce); he was not disinclined to imbibe, his favorite drink being *unagizake* (eel saké). The following passage is revealing:

> In his later years, Chūsai had a terrible aversion to thunder and lightning. This was probably because of two experiences he had with thunderstorms. The first occurred when he was walking along a path with Io shortly after they were married. Dark clouds covered the two of them. Then the sky split open. And just as a great bolt of lightning struck the earth, an earsplitting sound erupted and the couple fell to the ground. The second experience occured while he was taking a nap in the faculty members' room at the academy. A lightning bolt struck right in front of the nearby outhouse. Isawa Hakuken, who just then happened to be relieving himself inside, pitched forward headfirst against the urinal and broke off two front teeth. It must have been a feeling of intimidation that caused Chūsai to hate thunder and lightning. In any event, from then on, whenever he heard a thunderclap, he would go sit down inside the mosquito netting and call for saké.[15]

Ōgai, the ironic spectator of the shifting Meiji scene, had found in biography a perfect outlet for his particular literary gift. In his deft manipulation of detail he has made his subject come to life. But *Shibue Chūsai* is by no means dominated by a single subject. Ōgai's narrator introduces us to Mori Kien, Chūsai's boisterous, womanizing friend, who serves as a refreshing contrast to Chūsai's own rather strait-laced personality. And there is Yasuyoshi, the profligate son, who dissipates himself in the theaters and brothels, only to return to the family fold later in life. But the most important of all is Io, Chūsai's fourth wife.[16] Io is an exceptional woman: an expert at *go,* a student of English even though she had turned sixty, a tireless support for the family following her husband's death. Io is the last and perhaps the greatest of the exemplary women whom Ōgai treats in his late historical and biographical works.[17] This sympathetic, mature characterization is remarkable in view of the second-class status of women in much of the

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contemporary literature. In short, the biography takes Chūsai and Io equally as its two central subjects.

I have merely hinted at the qualities of *Shibue Chūsai,* but I would suggest that it is unique for the following reason: it combines objective detachment and stylistic restraint (the so-called *otoko,* or masculine, element) with the private, softer contours of a moving and insightful characterization (the so-called *onna,* or feminine, element). *Shibue Chūsai* is the first Japanese biography to join these two elements, which are the basic building-blocks of modern biography. And remarkably, Ōgai has achieved his inner view of subject, of character, by means of an unwavering focus on external detail and action. Like so much of Ōgai's work, it seems to point to the future while at the same time harkening back to the past.

Biography is open to the criticism that it is no better than its subject, that it is dependent on its "givens." Can we not see *Shibue Chūsai* in such a light? Can we not agree with the various critics who attribute its success to Ōgai's blind luck in having stumbled onto the right material?[18] It has been further argued that the only reason Ōgai dedicated himself to this work was his genuine affection for Chūsai and Io, an affection he withheld from later biographical subjects. But this only suggests that the artistic impulse behind biography can be found in the bond that must join biographer and subject. One is reminded of Dr. Johnson's observation that even the meanest human lives contain the seeds of great biography.

We must keep in mind that *Shibue Chūsai* is but the first of a trilogy of biographies. The second, *Isawa Ranken,* is the biography of Chūsai's Confucian mentor, whom we meet in Chūsai's biography. The third, *Hōjō Katei,* is the biography of a close friend of Ranken's whom we meet in Ranken's biography. Each of these works, then, is an elaborate *gaiden,* a biographical derivation. and *Shibue Chūsai* is itself a byproduct of research on an earlier story. The two latter works, however, do not approach the level of characterization achieved in *Shibue Chūsai,* and the narration in both is scrupulously detached and objective. Consequently, Japanese literary critics have all but ingored these works, justifiably locating them beyond the pale of *shōsetsu* (fictional literature). The genre question, however, shows no likelihood of easy resolution in the case of *Shibue Chūsai,* whose mix of literary elements defies simple classification. Nevertheless, there is surely a need to view the trilogy as a whole. What Ōgai has given us in some 1700 pages is a monumental portrait of the late Edo and early Meiji periods as seen through a series of interlocking biographies. The significance of this

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achievement within the context of Japanese literary and cultural history has yet to be fully understood.[19]

The full measure of Ōgai's impact on Japanese biographical writing is of course impossible to ascertain. As noted at the beginning, his biographies were not very popular in their own day. Yet Ōgai has long been revered as a great literary craftsman, and writers such as Nagai Kafū (1879–1959), Ishikawa Jun (1899–), and Mishima Yukio (1925–1970) have joined the chorus of praise. Kafū went so far as to try imitating Ōgai's style, to which he was almost mystically drawn, in a 1926 biography clearly inspired by the Ōgai trilogy. In this work, *Shitaya sōwa* (Gleanings from Shitaya), he uses the same short sentences, the same understated style. But the end result is a sort of literary plagiarism, and, like most such mechanical exercises, it simply does not work.

Ōgai stood alone in his age as a modern biographer. What, then, is the status of biography in Japan today? Between 1868 and 1888, the first two Meiji decades, a total of fifty biographies were written in Japan. In 1976 alone, five hundred appeared.[20] And a randomly-selected single week in 1980—the week of November 25—produced fifty entries, which works out to the astounding figure of 2600 biographies in that year.[21] As one might expect, the titles cover every imaginable subject. The 1976 entries included, for instance, a translation of Leslie Hoiler's *Jimmy Carter: From Peanut Farmer to President,* along with biographies of Hitler, Einstein, Emperor Hirohito, and countless others. What is noteworthy about these postwar biographies is their attention to phases or periods of a life rather than an entire lifetime, which is the more common Western format. Interestingly, this is true of one of the major Ōgai biographies, Kobori Keiichirō's *Wakaki hi no Mori Ōgai* (The Young Mori Ōgai).

Just what is one to make of this prodigious output of Japanese biographers? First, it is obvious that the cult of the individual has thoroughly penetrated Japan, and this has generated the same flood of instant paperback biographies, talk-show hype, and pop portraits that form the lowest common denominator of taste in this country. But the rage for biography, for stories about actual people, has also produced some genuinely fine work, from writers like Agawa Hiroyuki and Shiroyama Saburō, for example. These are not exactly household names in Japan, but they are achieving distinction in this most challenging of literary tasks.

Perhaps as a consequence of the mass-market appeal of the more popular biographies, or perhaps due to the lingering predisposition of

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critics to view biography as a lesser branch of historiography, biography as a literary genre has been a very marginal concern of Japanese scholarship. Western criticism is all but unknown; the single translated work on the subject is a 1941 edition of Maurois's *Aspects de la Biographie.*[22] And yet, ironically, one of the most popular genres of literary scholarship and criticism is Japan is literary biography. Kobori's book on Ōgai is a case in point. It is an unfortunate fact, at least from this observer's standpoint, that *denki hihyō,* a long-standing tradition of biographical criticism that virtually equates the author with his work, continues to loom so large in the Japanese literary world. One is encouraged to see that scholars such as Saeki Shōichi and Yahagi Katsumi have inaugurated a modern literary criticism of biography. Let us hope that their example will be followed.

To conclude, in placing the biographical trilogy of Mori Ōgai within the context of a genre history of biography, I have intended to demonstrate the following: first, that Japan does indeed have a tradition of biographical literature, and that it is alive and well; second, that Ōgai, in addition to all of his other remarkable accomplishments, was also a biographer—and a very important one, at that; and third, that Ōgai's biographies, and the notion of biographical literature, can only very grudgingly yield to genre classification. Works of literature appear to belong at the same time within their categorical limits and beyond them. Consequently, a genre history of biography, to the extent that it enables us to recognize this important truth, can significantly broaden the horizons of our literary vision.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

NOTES

1. Kōda Rohan (1867–1947) An ardent humanist and idealist, Rohan is often ranked with Ōgai and Sōseki as one of the patriarchs of modern Japanese literature. He produced a considerable volume of historical and biographical works during his long and distinguished career.
2. Tayama Katai (1871–1930) Katai's early years were spent writing and translating romantic poetry. He went on to become a pioneer writer of *watakushi shōsetsu* (I-novel or personal novel) and helped foster the very important naturalist movement in Japan.
3. Ueda Bin (1874–1916) Bin was a major figure in the romantic movement of the 1890's. He is best known as Japan's first translator and critic of French symbolist poetry.
4. For an interesting discussion of oral literature in medieval Japan, see Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature," in *Japan in the*

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Muromachi Age, ed. John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 279–309.

5. Saeki Shōichi, "The Curious Relationship Between Biography and Autobiography in Japan," in *New Directions in Biography,* ed. Anthony Friedson (Honolulu: Biographical Research Center, 1981), p. 76.
6. Isogai Hideo, *Kanshō Nihon gendai bungaku: Mori Ōgai* [Appreciations of Modern Japanese Literature: Mori Ōgai] (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1981), pp. 308–309.
7. Biographies were an integral part of official government histories from the eighth to the early twentieth century, but these works rarely departed from the *Shih chi* prototype.
8. Albert Bielschowsky, *Goethe, Sein Leben und Seine Werke* (Munich: O. Beck, 1904).
9. Daily serialization of *Shibue Chūsai* began simultaneously, on January 13, 1916, in two of Japan's leading newspapers: the Tokyo Mainichi Shinbun and the Osaka Mainichi Shinbun.
10. Ōgai was quite taken with Nietzsche's Apollonian-Dionysian formulation. Richard Bowring discusses Ōgai's intellectual debt to Nietzsche in his *Mori Ōgai and the Modernization of Japanese Culture,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 142–145.
11. Mori Ōgai, *Ōgai zenshū* [Collected Works of Ōgai], v. 26 (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1972), p. 509. All of the translations that appear in this article are my own.
12. *Ōgai zenshū,* v. 16, pp. 269–270.
13. Yahagi Katsumi, *Denki to jiden no hōhō* [Biographical and Autobiographical Method] (Tokyo: Shuppan Nyūsu Sha, 1971), p. 73.
14. *Ōgai zenshū,* v. 16, pp. 432–433.
15. *Ōgai zenshū,* v. 6, pp. 260–261.
16. Chūsai divorced his first wife, Sada, in 1829. His second wife, Ino, died in 1831; and his third wife, Toku, died in 1844. He married Io the same year.
17. For instance, 'Yasui fujin,' 'Sanshō Dayū,' and 'Jiisan baasan' (1914–1915).
18. Isogai Hideo, *op. cit.,* p. 308.
19. Regrettably, the Ōgai biographies are not available in translation. However, a recently-translated two-volume anthology of short historical pieces written between 1912 and 1916 conveys a good sense of his style and literary technique: David Dilworth and J. Thomas Rimer, eds., *'The Incident at Sakai' and Other Stories: Volume 1 of the Historical Literature of Mori Ōgai;* and *'Saiki Kōi' and Other Stories: Volume 2 of the Historical Literature of Mori Ōgai* (The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1977).
20. *Zen Nihon shuppanbutsu sōmokuroku* [Japanese National Bibliography], 1976.
21. *Nōhon shūhō* [Japanese National Bibliography: Weekly List], November 25, 1980. These bibliographies include both translated and original works. I should note in passing that translations make up no more than approximately ten percent of the total.
22. Daniel Zoll, "The Study of Life-Writing in Japan: a Partially Annotated Bibliography of Japanese Books and Articles on Biography and Autobiography, 1922–1979, with an Introduction," in *Biography,* 2 (1979), p. 350.

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DAVID MAYERS

Young Kennan's Criticisms and Recommendations

George Kennan, scholar and diplomat, has been skeptical for decades of prevailing American values and attitudes. He has stood apart, sometimes deliberately and with confidence, other times anxiously. Nowhere is this more evident than in his assessment of American political problems in 1938 and in his recommendations for an improved Foreign Service and Foreign Service academy in 1942. His early ideas about these subjects—he was only thirty-four in 1938—have persisted in one way or another in his later thinking when, as a prominent public figure, he has grappled with pressing international and domestic issues.

I

Kennan was assigned to work in late 1937 at the State Department as its chief expert on Soviet Russia and acted in that capacity for the better part of one year. As a Foreign Service Officer for more than a decade prior, he had obtained advanced training in Berlin and had served in Tallinn, Riga, Vienna, and Moscow. One of the effects of his peripatetic career was that he, like many diplomats posted abroad for years at a time, felt in various subtle ways unrelated to his native country.

Certainly his sense of domestic impermanency was heightened by his tour in Washington, D.C. "Outside the Department, I lived in that peculiar loneliness of the returned exile who has not forgotten his own country but who has been pretty thoroughly forgotten by most of the people he ever knew in it."[1] Once, during an earlier leave home in

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1936, he visited his grandfather's old farm in Wisconsin, then in the hands of someone else. Kennan poignantly recalled:

> I bicycled out there . . . and visited the farmer. The new farm house was made from the timbers of Grandfather's old house which had stood across the road. I lay there through the summer night, in the guest bedroom, listening to the chirping of crickets in the grass outside, and breathing the smell of hot, warm hay and manure from the barn; and I felt closer to home than I have ever felt before or since in my wandering life.[2]

Moreover, his years abroad had isolated Kennan from political moods, cultural currents, and major events taking place in the United States. As he himself admitted, the "exile" was not only increasingly estranged from contemporary America, but also sought vaguely some dimly remembered past: "The dominant reaction on my part to that entire year in the United States was a growing understanding and nostalgia for America's past and an uneasiness about her future. I felt a powerful longing to identify myself more closely with everything America had once been; and a decided reluctance to identify myself with what it seemed to be becoming."[3]

His first-hand witness, 1937–1938, of the grimness and social deterioration of depression-era America merely reinforced his melancholy forebodings. His residence in Alexandria, a Virginia suburb of Washington, was certainly not particularly happy. "Dirt, heat, rats and decay: that was Alexandria in summer. Its riverfront, a block and a half from our house, showed scenes of ruin and neglect worse than anything I had ever seen in Europe: sunken boats, silted slips, rotting rat-infested wharves. It was nothing to cheer the heart of an American returned from eleven years exile."[4] Although he admired the courage and optimism of his few acquaintances in the New Deal administration, he felt they were doomed to failure and so did not support them. Among his business friends in Milwaukee, he discovered frustration and mounting indignation at the allegedly sordid, dangerous course set by the federal government. Irrespective of where these people and other citizens fell along the political spectrum, Kennan believed "they did not understand the complexity and profundity of their own problems. Very often, they still accepted as holy and untouchable institutions and premises which had no real reason for existence."[5] He lamented that the country in 1938 was literally crumbling away, but its citizens, however well meaning most of them were, were not prepared to take decisive, emergency measures. In the wake of this perceived

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neglect and limited imagination, Kennan the diplomat began to formulate criticisms of and recommendations for his own society.

To Kennan, only a highly centralized, powerful national government could save the country. He recognized, though, that such a political creation was anathema to most Americans, who he feared were practically anarchical in their habits and thoughts. And he despaired for the future stability and coherence of the federal government: "I felt that sooner or later it was bound to flounder hopelessly . . . in its own failures, and to break down completely, as it had threatened to do in 1933."[6] Chaos, suffering, possibly bloodshed, would ensue. Eventually, however, the social and political disorders would produce "forms and conceptions of political life . . . [to] form the basis of a new national government."[7] Kennan had definite notions about the shape that the next American regime should assume; consequently, he began writing a remarkable treatise, "The Prerequisites: Notes on Problems of the United States in 1938." It was, if nothing else, an eloquent testimony to his disenchantment with American political institutions.

His thinking along these lines actually dated to 1935, when, during recuperation from severe ulcers developed in Moscow, he was assigned temporarily to the US embassy in Vienna for a light detail tailored to encourage full recovery of health and spirits. During this convalescence, Ambassador Messersmith asked Kennan to study a recently promulgated Austrian social insurance law sponsored by the reactionary, authoritarian regime of Schuschnigg. Kennan was impressed that the government had appointed a committee of experts to draft a comprehensive law that unified medical and financial procedures and placed the entire system on firm financial and fair social bases. Members of Parliament were not allowed to tinker with or trade on this issue of national importance; the entire process—in Kennan's view—had thus been freed from demagoguery, public wrangling, debate by laymen, and appeals to the public's emotion and greed. He felt that this episode was a testimony to foresight and thoroughness and conveyed a larger lesson: a benevolent dictatorship had great capacity for good, and rule by a minority of dedicated, selfless servants was both more efficient and more beneficial to society than rule by representatives captive to special interest groups and parochial-minded voters in small districts. He later recounted, "During the years to come—the uneasy years from 1936–1939, when our country rang with shrill debate about the issue of 'dictatorship versus democracy'—I was never able to forget these impressions. . . . Were not dictatorship and

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democracy only phrases? Was it not actually cruelty, stupidity, ignorance, violence and pretense which we hated? And could these not appear in any regime, no matter what it called itself?"[8]

Kennan's "Prerequisites" began by elucidating the fundamental problems afflicting the nation. He asserted that its chief political institutions, exemplified by the Constitution, were dated and hardly applicable, after one hundred and fifty years, to current crises. Since the founding, enormous changes had occurred, and the just regulation of human relationships had become infinitely more complex. Futhermore, American industrial and agricultural production no longer functioned smoothly, and the government for all its tampering could not restore vigor and health to the economy. He also complained that the social effects of uncontrolled industrialization and hasty development were pernicious: the population had lost confidence in its ideals, and crime, corruption, and racial antagonisms were pervasive. The solutions offered by the two major political parties failed to comprehend fully the magnitude of unprecedented social calamities. A paternalistic central government had not succeeded where the advocates of *laissez-faire* had failed.

The inspired authors of the Constitution were not culpable, however. Indeed, if they could return, they would shudder to discover that their heirs had been too timid, too dull for continuing political work so bravely begun: "We blame subsequent generations, including our own, for distorting the pattern which the framers of the Constitution laid down, for perverting what was supposed to be a representative government into a boss ridden democracy, for admitting into this country millions of new elements incapable of understanding our conceptions of government and determined inevitably to constitute the means for the abuse of these conceptions by unscrupulous demagogues, and—finally—for a general cowardliness and reluctance to take responsibility in questions of political authority."[9]

Kennan's "Prerequisites" also contained an attack against the Congress. He protested that the legislative branch was utterly inadequate to meet the demands of a modern state for intelligent legislation. Congressman themselves were not individually responsible for this unhappy state of affairs. They had not created the shabby national political system; they were, instead, creatures of it: "They are of necessity, by virtue of the method of their selection, mediocre men with little courage." They were beholden only to the most conspicuous elements in their little constituencies, yet were charged with legislating for the

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whole nation's welfare. The Congressmen were frightfully bound, timorous, narrow-minded: "Even freed of their bosses and constituents, they would have a hard time finding reasonable answers to the problems placed before them, due to their limitations of intelligence and character. Saddled as they are with the demands of sectional and special interests, they do not even try to keep national interests in mind in their legislative work."[10] The laws they passed amounted merely to compromises among diverse, self-seeking interest groups, bore little relation to central national issues, and were not even barely comprehensive in their approach.

Kennan felt that a mischievous minority—special interest groups and their professional politicians—had fully corrupted the principle of universal suffrage. This small portion of the population unfairly wielded the power of government in support of selfish concerns; the notion of a larger good, it could not or would not understand. Even if Americans could miraculously eliminate such impediments to majority rule, Kennan still doubted the principle and wisdom of popular government; most US citizens were too unenlightened and varied in their political commitments to participate in a sensible, responsible government: "It is obvious that there are millions of people in this country who haven't the faintest conception of the rights or wrongs of the complicated questions with which the federal government is faced."[11]

These people were not merely ignorant, but were also duped by frauds, bought off, shrewdly manipulated by party machines, sometimes crushed, altogether helpless and bewildered. They were untrained to political traditions, often lacked national feeling, and, when given political responsibility, inevitably turned it over to the most determined self-seekers. As this condition was both unjustifiable and dangerous for the United States, Kennan recommended that the category of citizens composing the unfit should, for the good of the country, henceforth no longer vote.

Naturalized citizens—and resident aliens who Kennan erroneously thought were allowed to vote—ought in any new order to be disenfranchised. They unfortunately held disproportionate sway over traditional political participants, who in turn were fast becoming neglected in the land of their forebears. A proud descendant of eighteenth-century Protestant New England settlers, Kennan wrote with feeling: "Anyone who has held a position of any responsibility in the federal government can confirm the fact that a newly arrived alien who hap-

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pens to belong to one of the well organized nationality groups can get much more in the way of favorable action out of Washington than the average Tom, Dick or Harry whose ancestors have so far merged into the American picture that their foreign origin, if determinable at all, can no longer be recognized."[12] The true American, by nature diffident, was at risk of becoming a second-class citizen. He was modest to a fault, too decent and content with his small lot to be easy prey for political hucksters. Consequently, "the meagre privilege of his status as a resident of the country and his political allegiance is not even known to the local ward-heelers. The member of one of the nationality groups is registered and catalogued and the group has its particular congressmen and senators to do its bidding in the national capital."[13]

Kennan admitted that his proposal would bar some intelligent, highly qualified voters; their sacrifice was necessary, however, and they would eventually appreciate the advantages of a sound government and high-minded politics. In the meantime, ruthless, dishonest politicians would lose an important source of their misbegotten power. Foreign governments would no longer have direct influence in domestic affairs, and millions of confused "semi-digested" new arrivals would no longer fall victim to "rent-sharks, ward-heelers and confidence men of the big cities." Kennan's prescription for dealing with first-generation Americans was thus in the tradition of militant nativism and equalled, in some ways even surpassed, the objectives of the Know-Nothings, who in the mid-nineteenth century had advocated increasing the five-year period of naturalization by nine or even fifteen years and reserving political office for American-born citizens.[14]

Kennan believed that American women also held too much power. Similar to the treatment accorded naturalized citizens, women's political privileges required drastic revision. Elimination of the nineteenth amendment might be difficult to accomplish, but it was necessary. To Kennan, the sad fact was that the United States had become a somewhat ridiculous matriarchy.

> In no other great nation have women been given remotely the power in social, economic and political affairs that they have in this country. They control in large part the family. They control in still greater part the nation's purse. They dominate cultural life, as the greatest market for magazines, books, films, etc. They have their lobbies in Washington and the politicians tremble at their approach.[15]

Regrettably, despite her vast privileges and power, the American woman had not generally lived up to her duties. Her social clubs had

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become symbols of mindless, aimless activity. She had unwisely delivered great power to lobbyists, charlatans, and racketeers. And she had, according to Kennan, even squandered the delightful assets of her own sex. In comparison with the women of other countries, she was "delicate, high-strung, unsatisfied, flat-chested and flat-voiced. The higher she is in the social and economic scale the more true these things are—and the greater the part she takes in politics."[16] This miserable trend had to be reversed. Kennan exhorted that women revert to traditional roles and limit their civic participation to family picnics, children's parties, and church socials—the last, incidentally, should proceed unencumbered by outside speakers. By retreating in this manner, the American woman would spare herself and her country a great deal of stress and discomfort. And she would recover substantially the "strength and dignity" that had been so lightly forsaken.

In Kennan's view, the American black was bereft of power (unlike the American woman and naturalized citizen) and represented the most palpable failure in the country's political history. His condition was a national disgrace, and seventy years of nominal enfranchisement had done nothing to ameliorate his sorry plight. While over the decades he had become a pathetic ward of the government, his economic misery and "physical and nervous disintegration" progressed unabated. Emergency conditions certainly called for emergency measures, but Kennan doubted that they would be forthcoming from the representatives regularly supported by black voters: "On the contrary, these people merely clutter up the processes of government and impede any sort of constructive progress. The lack of the franchise could make the negro little more defenseless than he is."[17] Repeal of black suffrage, reasoned Kennan, would force the white population to develop a deeper sense of responsibility for the black man's welfare. After all, he observed, "It is a national characteristic that we are kinder to those who, like our children, are openly dependent on our kindness than to those who are (supposedly) able to look after themselves."[18]

White, American-born men apparently occupied the best social positions from which to lead the nation. Kennan expected that by introducing voting restrictions the basis of political power would revert to those people who by virtue of background and experience were best qualified to exercise authority.

Kennan also expressed the view that, given the failings of the Constitution and the political parties, the best solution to problems in the US lay "along a road which very few Americans are willing to contemplate: along the road which leads through constitutional change to the

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authoritarian state."[19] To deflect predictable criticisms, Kennan argued that neither pure democracy nor pure dictatorship had ever existed anywhere. The terms merely stood for ideal types of political regimes, but were too imprecise and emotive to be useful in discussions about practical politics. In the case of "democracy," he contended that most people uncritically accepted the view that it consisted of some unspecified mix of personal liberty and majority rule. "But," he objected, "personal liberty in a society which has taxes, police and unemployment, is a relative term itself. And majority rule is a dangerous measuring stick to apply in a country where a good percentage of local and state governments are in the hands of political machines and where the mainsprings of federal legislation are lobbies, patronage and local interest."[20] As for "dictatorship," it was an elusive term, not a scientifically rigorous concept. The centralization of political power involved questions of degree, and even the most entrenched, absolute rulers consulted advisors, took into account the needs of prominent citizens, and were concerned enough with popular opinion to try influencing it through massive propaganda.

In any case, regimes in most countries did not fit neatly into the categories of conventional political typology. China, for example, was led by an autocrat, Chiang Kai-shek, but most Americans did not hold him in contempt as a despicable dictator. Japan, in contrast, was widely dismissed as undemocratic, although few people "have any clear idea who the dictator is supposed to be." Other countries generally held in esteem—some in Eastern Europe and in Latin America—were not, in fact, paragons of democratic virtue. Semantic ambiguity and partisanship thus confounded intellectual clarity: "All in all, it is obvious that neither of these terms is more than a vague cliché, loosely applied for emotional reasons whenever people find it convenient to apply it."[21] The bogey-man of dictatorship and the angel of democracy were equally irrelevant—simply too amorphous—for a serious appraisal of American political defects and prospects.

As for the proper ends of national government, Kennan posited simply that it should raise the standards and quality of the citizen's housing, food, clothing, and recreation. Citizens, he also recommended, "must be taught to be more humane and more decent in their relations with one another. Finally, if they are to be happy, they should be given the feeling that they are participating individually in a common program . . . that their efforts are not purely individualistic and selfish, that they are contributing toward the general improvement of the society in which they live."[22] Beyond this sketchy program Kennan did

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not venture, but merely wanted to suggest the proper direction for future American government policies. He refused to describe a distant millenium, a fault he ascribed to Marxists, and was only casually concerned with the exact shape of future political institutions. Instead, he was absorbed by the question of the sort of "people who are to bear responsibility for government and who are to participate directly in the exercise of authority."

Kennan suggested the deliberate cultivation of a new political elite, specially groomed, recruited from every region and class of society. Fitness for government would be determined by "character, education, and inclination," augmented by later training and experience. An organization above conventional political bickering, outside of narrow partisan causes, and indifferent to its own popular image would choose, primarily from the nation's youth, those men destined for a superior political education and ultimate political leadership.

Once enlisted into the new elite group, each man would dedicate himself to a life of earnest public service. The conventional joys of private life and work aimed at amassing wealth would have to be sacrificed; members of the organization "would have to subject themselves to discipline as they would if they entered a religious order. Many of them would doubtless have to face—at first—the opposition of parents and pedagogues and the scorn of less idealistic fellows."[23] Yet the intrinsic rewards of service to the nation and true comradeship would be ample compensation.

At the same time, the future leaders would be spared the philistinism of American colleges and would be mercifully freed as adults from the shallowness of ordinary American suburban life. They would constitute, in other words, a reliable, disciplined vanguard of "untrammelled young people." Power would be theirs once the progressive decline of American morale and life convinced citizens of the need to surrender authority to a competent, eager group, endowed with the courage to accept fateful responsibility. Other organizations also—unnamed, unworthy ones—would be waiting to pick up the shreds of political life and lead the country, but they would have in Kennan's youthful men able, determined competitors imbued with decency and justice. Neither demagogic nor tied to the "fetish of democracy," this elite political entity, given the chance to govern, would chart unexplored, brave worlds and discard for good bankrupt political institutions and practices of the past.

After making these observations and posing these recommendations, "The Prerequisites" abruptly broke off. It was apparently aban-

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doned and never again directly drew Kennan's attention.* He certainly recognized how extraordinary his advice would strike most Americans and never hoped seriously that his ideas could be implemented. But "The Prerequisites," like Plato's *Republic* on which it seems to have been partially modeled, shows vividly the author's fears, as well as his ultimate political preferences. In addition, the work reveals that young Kennan shared many of the popular reservations of his countrymen about blacks, immigrants, etc., but mixed them with other intellectual traditions that are somewhat anomalous coming from an American. The proposition that the incompetence and muddle of democratic politics could be overcome by a vanguard elite was then the object of experiment in Eastern Europe, but outside of some intellectual circles was not widely appreciated in America. Kennan himself was disgusted by the cruelty and distortion of the elite principle as it was exercised by communist party rule in Russia. Yet his Brahmin-like instincts, his confidence in what a strong government could do if properly led for just ends, and his respect for the political and intellectual tradition of Europe's old aristocracy were woven into "The Prerequisites." Taken as a piece, it invites considerable, obvious criticism. More important, though, than taking issue with "The Prerequisites" is to determine how the themes developed therein have reoccurred or been developed in subsequent years by Kennan, in relation especially to his concern with foreign affairs.

Since rising to national prominence in the late 1940s, he has railed against the untoward influence of ethnic and special interest groups on American foreign policy. He believes that Croat-Americans, for example, helped influence, through their representatives in Congress, the Kennedy administration to adopt an ill-advised policy toward Yugoslavia in which MFN status for Tito's regime was—recklessly from the perspective of American interests in the Balkans—revoked. During a delicate period of the Korean War he was dismayed by the damage inflicted on US diplomacy by "the irresponsible and bigoted interference of the China lobby and its friends in Congress."[24]

He also attributes the delay in his repatriation and that of his colleagues in the American embassy in Berlin to the meddling of Congressmen unduly concerned about European Jews. Kennan and the

*In a letter to the author (November 3, 1982) Kennan made the point that "The Prerequisites" stands in relation to his later ideas as an *esquisse* does to an artist's final painting. It was to be modified, polished, pushed in other directions. This is a fair assessment and especially true, as we shall see, in relation to his ideas about the Foreign Service.

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rest of the embassy staff were detained for five months by Nazi authorities after the start of German-US hostilities in December, 1941. During the term of their captivity, which was hardly pleasant and yet did not approach the brutality of a concentration camp, the American embassy group learned hard news. As Kennan explains in his memoirs:

> "half of us were to be left behind, in German custody, in order to free space on the exchange vessel for Jewish refugees. Why? Because individual Congressmen, anxious to please individual constituents, were interested in bringing these refugees to the United States, and this—although the refugees were not citizens—was more important than what happened to us."[25]

Eventually, the entire embassy staff returned safely to the United States. Nonetheless, Kennan was outraged and charged that the State Department was more concerned with relieving itself of Congressional pressures than rescuing its own employees.

Later, during the Cold War, Kennan, as director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, was not entirely convinced about the resilience and reliability of some minority groups. He explained in a 1949 memorandum that communism exerted a relatively strong appeal "to maladjusted groups: in our country—Jews, Negroes, immigrants—all those who feel handicapped in the framework of a national society."[26] It was, incidentally, during this period that the Government revived in modern guise the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts and resolved to deport all communist aliens. Kennan, who at one point thought it might be useful to monitor in a moderate way the activities of obviously, or potentially, subversive groups, was flabbergasted by the excesses and hysteria of the early Cold War era.

His worst original fears about Congress and political frauds were vindicated in a sense by the triumph of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the damage he wrought on the State Department, including many of Kennan's friends and colleagues, such as Charles Bohlen, John Service, and John Paton Davies. Kennan responded by championing several men who were unfairly accused and defended the Department and the Foreign Service from some of its most implacable Congressional foes.

Moreover, he has worried for a long time since about the impact of misguided, uninformed, changeable Congressional opinion and ineptness on the purpose and resolve of American diplomacy. He wrote in 1951 that democratic foreign policy is "limited at the outset by the

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level of enlightenment, maturity, thoughtfulness, and moral courage that prevails in the ranks of the legislators. . . . Plainly anything that would operate to raise that level, to increase awareness of international implications of domestic problems, to enhance the dignity and maturity of legislative procedures, and to heighten the congressional consciousness of obligation to the public weal (as opposed to parochial electoral interests) in matters affecting foreign affairs, would be important. . . ."[27] He has tried through his frequent testimony before Congressional committees and in his writings to educate those American legislators active in foreign policy. Nothing, however, has caused Kennan to cease from brooding about the damage sound diplomacy has sustained because small-minded politicians have found it inconvenient, or inexpedient, to transcend their little, mean concerns.

In 1956, he wrote with conviction and obviously with his own experiences in mind that the diplomat generally views domestic politics "as a seething cauldron in which rises to the surface, by the law of averages, certain mutation of the human species."[28] The diplomat—i.e., Kennan—has always harbored a dislike and suspicion for the pompous, ruthless members of the political fraternity: "for the bombast, the demagogue, the jingo, the poseur, the man touched with the intoxication of power, the man for whom the issues at stake in his country's relations with the outside world are means to a personal end. And too often it seems, looking at it from an embassy in a foreign capital, that such are the natures bound by the law of averages to be propelled most often to the surface in the uninhibited workings of political competition."[29]

As for the proper role of public opinion in foreign policy, Kennan has long maintained that it should be minor, not a serious constraint on informed, trained policymakers who alone know the subtleties and details of international problems and can carefully calculate a balanced, reasonable diplomacy. As he told a Haverford College audience in 1955, he was unconvinced that foreign policy should be the product of popular and casual discussions and public opinion polls. Instead, he explained, long-term foreign policy planning can be usefully accomplished only "by a group of people very carefully selected from the standpoint of experience and training and ability, and in a position not only to have access to all the information at the government's disposal (which the public can never have) but also to devote to this task their full time, and to approach it not just with speculations off the top of their heads but with hard, intense work, probing persistently for the real facts, balancing the most complicated sort of political equations."

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He cautioned that any person who is not in such a privileged position of knowledge, experience, and training and who does not have time enough to study foreign policy problems deeply should be careful about setting his judgment up against that of the government. Better this statist approach, Kennan advised, "than to regard ourselves as a collection of 160 million grandstand quarterbacks and scream our hasty injunctions to our players on the football field, whose knowledge of the real situations is better than ours and who are too pressed by the din of battle to heed our voices."[30] Citizens who choose to speak on international political issues should be cool in their tone, modest in their judgments, always circumspect.

Whatever the merit of such advice, Kennan has been faithful to his own injunctions even when discussing the most bitter controversial issues. In recent years, for example, he has warned the government about its nuclear policy and the arms race; these comments have appropriately been based on expertise and a very substantial background of involvement in Soviet-American relations. During the Vietnam War, long after he played an important policy-making role, Kennan forcefully argued against American policy in Southeast Asia. But his most important remarks on the subject were addressed to—and at the behest of—Senator Fulbright and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Kennan never went near a war protest rally.

With respect to another great, divisive issue, civil rights, Kennan's attitude seems to have shifted somewhat since he wrote "The Prerequisites." From the 1950s on, he has been vexed by the adverse effects of civil rights violations and racial strife in the United States for American policy in the Third World and has admonished Americans not to become complacent about "the most terrible and serious of our national problems." Failure to deal with it squarely would have unpleasant repercussions "for our population in a world whose population is largely of color different from that of the majority of Americans."[31] However, his commitment to racial justice for its own sake in the United States has been peculiarly qualified. He wrote a friend in 1965: "Again, with my proclivity for thinking the wrong things, I am bound to say I have a soft spot in my mind for *apartheid*—not as practiced in South Africa but as a concept. I would rather see the negroes advance to self-respect and self-realization as a racial community than to witness the agonizing and unsuccessful efforts now being made in this country to find a proper place for them in our society by pretending to ignore the factor of their color."[32]

Respecting his frank attitude toward American women, nothing

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very important is publicly available. As director of the Policy Planning Staff, he did recruit a woman of indisputable talent and experience. Dorothy Fosdick, Ph.D., was a specialist in international organizations and had helped represent American interests at Dumbarton Oaks. Although Kennan was never sanguine about the contribution that the United Nations and other international agencies could make to world politics, he respected Fosdick and obviously modified somewhat his most caustic, earlier views.

Finally, a word about Kennan's original proposals for amending the Constitution. He never revived them, although he has on more than one occasion made intimations. And only once since 1938 has he publicly, explicitly urged modifying government institutions at all and then with quite different aims. He testified to the Senate in 1960, shortly after the U-2 debacle, that in order to coordinate the various agencies and branches of government for purposes of foreign policy, a new post—more elevated than the Secretary of State—should be created. The State Department, Defense Department, CIA, and FBI would be led by one man who would exercise ultimate authority for foreign policy and national security; such a czar of foreign affairs would function as a type of first minister to the President. Kennan advised that this new apparatus for centralized control and discipline in the executive branch should help produce a well-coordinated, resolute foreign policy. But, he pleaded, it was not an adequate substitute for good men. While his proposal provoked a minor stir, it attracted little support. Whereas he hoped to replace the "endless compromises" and hodge-podge policies of the government's foreign policy agencies, his Congressional and journalistic critics warned against unwitting steps toward dictatorship.

II

Appalled by what he perceived to be the banality of American politicians and the disorderliness of American social and political affairs, Kennan found refuge in the Foreign Service, which, more than the United States, was for years his true home. He once declared in a revealing moment, "the central fact about me is that I'm a career foreign officer and proud of it."[33] Until he found identity as a scholar and safety in the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, he derived his professional purpose and chief satisfactions within the context of diplomatic service. His country may have been oblivious to his warnings, indifferent to his suggestions. The Foreign Service, though, often in peril itself, was a more manageable community and generally better

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suited to Kennan's taste. For a period in the late 1940s he served as president of the American Foreign Service Association and in one way or another worked over the course of decades for the Service's integrity and prosperity.

In this connection just four years after writing "The Prerequisites," Kennan turned to a favorite theme: the need for excellence of character and intellect in those men charged with handling national public affairs. Certainly he never again so boldly stated his case as he had in "The Prerequisites." Still, the attraction of a well-endowed, specially educated elite, removed from the partisan fray, and deeply committed to the common good, never lost its luster for Kennan. Some of the far-fetched recommendations contained in "The Prerequisites" first found modified, respectable form in his plan, written in 1942, for improved Foreign Service recruitment and education.

Kennan's twenty-page memorandum on future Foreign Service needs and training was premised on the assumption that America's postwar commitments abroad would be large. In order to meet them, the United States would need to have at its disposal hundreds more reliable professional diplomats. He proposed, therefore, that the Foreign Service take vigorous measures to attract the best, most dedicated men possible. Whereas in "The Prerequisites" Kennan compared his elite members' sense of duty with that of men in religious orders, he now urged that new Foreign Service officers regard their careers "as a calling and a way of life, like service in the army or navy, with standards of honor, discipline, and responsibility, with sanctions of precedent and tradition, with opportunities for authority and distinction no less than those which are aimed at in the armed forces." The men who would compose the diplomatic corps would hereafter constitute "an elite of American culture and character, and must . . . [be] for our own Government an instrument of maximum reliability, competence and utility in the foreign field."[34] Such a goal necessitated training the entire personality of the Foreign Service officer, not just his mind.

Kennan recommended the founding of a Foreign Service academy, similar in respects to West Point and Annapolis. Operated at government expense, administered by the State Department, the academy would combine aspects of a small, liberal arts college with qualities of military and naval schools. It would train carefully selected men "from the ground up." Echoing "The Prerequisites," Kennan wrote, "Its graduates would be bound to special standards of efficiency in their work, would be expected to subordinate their private lives to their work in a considerable degree, but would in return receive special

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advantages in advancement and in opportunity for the exercise of responsibility. . . ."[35]

The academy would, as anticipated in "The Prerequisites," admit only the most promising individuals, irrespective of their class and region. Within limits they would be encouraged to develop their particular interests and tastes; however, the academy would definitely aim at producing a recognizable, reliable type that was intellectually mature and possessed impeccable character. The academy would even try to inculcate in its students something of the manners and traditions of early American eighteenth-century diplomacy. In this way, Kennan believed, the shallowness of native breeding and uneven education that had handicapped the careers of too many American diplomats would be purged from the corps.

Not only would the academy be extremely selective in its admission policy, but the requirements for graduation were to be stiff—far tougher, in fact, than those of any private college in the country. Kennan reckoned that half the students in each freshman class would be winnowed out before graduation on the basis of scholastic deficiency or general unsuitability. Only the most exceptional men would remain. Apparently, he did not worry about the effects on student morale of an unusually high attrition rate. Discipline, moreover, would be very strict for underclassmen, equal to that of West Point or Annapolis. And throughout all four years, "the principle of absolute discipline and obedience would be inviolable." An honor system, administered in part by the students, would also obtain. "It would have to be a cardinal principle that no man could graduate who had not shown himself to be thoroughly a gentleman. . . . It should be impressed upon them that implicit confidence would always be given to their word, and that any abuse of this confidence would not only mean elimination from the career, but would also be a shocking personal disgrace."[36]

Students would be furnished with uniforms, and thereby false distinctions and snobbery—of which Kennan was the victim during his undergraduate days at Princeton University—would have little chance to infect the students. "I know of no better way to impress on men's minds that the artificial advantages and protections of home life are no longer operative and that they must reconcile themselves to submission and cooperation in an organization, than by the wearing of a uniform."[37] Himself a product of a military prep school, Kennan felt that close-order drill and basic military training might also be useful adjuncts to the academic curriculum.[38]

The course of study would emphasize history, foreign languages,

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geography, law, and English. The first two years of instruction would be entirely prescribed, and upon graduation every student would have a working knowledge—both written and oral—of French, German, and Spanish. Instructors at the academy would be men with experience of life abroad and would typify in themselves steady, serious values. They would participate much more directly in student life than faculty at most colleges and would take lively personal interest in all aspects of each student's development. Two hours of physical education a day for underclassmen would also be mandated: "the men would not have time for a normal social life to the extent that college students elsewhere do. . . . only an exacting and physically hard regime could maintain nervous and physical health at the necessary level."[39]

Finally, during summer recesses, students would spend time working on farms and in industry or travel overseas under the auspices of a responsible organization. In this way the young diplomatic elite would know something of common life at home and abroad and would be immunized partially against effete delicacy.

Upon graduation, a student would be eligible to enter the Foreign Service or any other branch of the government involved with foreign concerns. Also, the Foreign Service would accept a few men who did not attend the academy, just as the Army accepts officers who do not train at West Point. Clearly, though, the academy graduate would belong to a privileged fraternity and would enjoy attendant advantages.

Kennan's proposal, although submitted, was never acted upon. In part his timing was poor; the State Department in 1942 was too preoccupied with war to study Kennan's ideas. In subsequent years, he has periodically called for such an academy and—despite bitter moments during the McCarthy period, when he advised that promising young men could not reasonably expect to pursue worthwhile careers in the Foreign Service—has urged that promotion of a superior diplomatic corps be given government priority.

Kennan has argued that such an august body should not only enjoy broad responsibilities in the foreign field, but should also be prepared to play a role in domestic affairs. In this regard, Kennan's remarks to a group of fellow Foreign Service Officers in 1944 are revealing. He explained to them that men returning from military service after the war would be dismayed to find widespread evidence of decline in American society. Family life, according to Kennan, had suffered greatly, juvenile delinquency was rising, and many people had grown accustomed to easy jobs, high wages, and soft living. He predicted that

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men back from overseas "will experience a singular lack of sympathy for people who have been drawing two or three hundred dollars a month and blackmailing the public for more, in return—in many instances—for precious little real effort on their own part, while soldiers and sailors have faced death on the meagre pay of the armed forces."[40]

Kennan feared that these problems, combined with increased racial strife, would lead to deep social disorder and violence. Thus he, along with some other analysts at the time, warned that economic and social stresses might strain postwar America beyond endurance. In language reminiscent of "The Prerequisites," he stated that the new crisis would call for extensive reforms both in public life and in basic concepts of society, reforms that would not be easy for most Americans to accept. After all, Americans had serious blind spots, "and one of the worst of them is our stubborn and reactionary belief that we have a form of government so superior that it needs no further development or improvement, and that it will automatically remain the acme of all political genius, without any further cultivation on our part."[41] Relentless "forces of ugliness and cruelty and timidity and intolerance" were already prepared to assault the United States and administer a severe test to the nation's brittle institutions. But US professional diplomats luckily occupied a superior position in the forthcoming contest: "We have had exceptional opportunities for judging our own country because we have had to learn something about other countries as well, and we, therefore, have a standard of comparison. It may well be up to us to take a prominent part in finding solutions for some of the really crucial internal problems. . . ."[42] He concluded his remarks by saying that, in the future combat against various domestic malefactors, "we foreign service officers are going to have a peculiarly responsible and lonely part to play." Post-war America, of course, was not nearly so bleak or desperate as Kennan supposed. Yet sadly, when timidity and intolerance were later loosed on the land, embodied by the phenomenon of McCarthyism, the Foreign Service proved to be not a leader in the resistance, but a major victim.

Young Kennan believed that the Foreign Service officer, if properly encouraged, trained, and supported by his government, could confidently pursue the worthy objectives of his art: securing peaceful commerce and relations between his country and others. Establishment of a Foreign Service academy would constitute both a practical and symbolic commitment by the government and by the nation to excellence and expertise in diplomacy. Instead, Kennan has ruefully complained

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for years, the American diplomat is profoundly isolated from his society, usually held suspect, and his potential special contributions to the country's domestic life and foreign policy have been regularly shunned.

Despite the shock of McCarthyism and other instances of public abuse or neglect of the Foreign Service, the diplomat—Kennan has always stressed—cannot afford to indulge morbid doubt about his critical tasks. He must be willing to renounce public approval and appreciation for the sake of his solemn obligation, at the heart of which is "everything that men care about."[43] Kennan wrote in 1957 that a diplomatic agency of "quality and excellence . . . could render signal service not only to [the government] but to our anxious, war-torn and atom-menaced world at large."[44] Unfortunately, according to him, such an institution has not been founded for want of public support and understanding.

Both "The Prerequisites" and his scheme for a Foreign Service academy reveal the degree to which young Kennan, son of a rather ordinary, middle-class, midwestern family, cherished—in an idiosyncratic way to be sure—the ideal of an unassailable aristocracy of character and mind. His presumption that foreign affairs occupied a position of primacy in the life of America and his own functioning as a diplomat led him to emphasize the special needs for excellence in the Foreign Service. Besides, his real convictions, never mind his professed yearning for original, pristine American principles, were so alien to the United States in the late 1930s and early 1940s that he did not dare hope for the realization of his fondest political preferences on a national scale. They were then, as they would be today, simply astonishing.

Not until 1968, when he wrote "Rebels Without a Program," did Kennan record anything about his misgivings of American democracy comparable to "The Prerequisites." In "Rebels" he damned the student protest movement and declared that he was skeptical of "whether civil disobedience has any place in a democratic society."[45] This statement, and indeed the whole tenor of the essay, disturbed many of Kennan's admirers, including W. H. Auden. In fact, although Kennan later qualified some of his harshest language, the essay amounted simply to unvarnished Kennan and reflected the extent to which he has always stayed profoundly out of sympathy with American political life.

So, too, he has been at odds with most of American foreign policy

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and is distressed now by the prevailing oversimplified and exaggerated views emanating from Washington about the Soviet Union. He believes this has occurred, in part, because America's political establishment is averse to professionalism in diplomacy and consequently has hobbled its own conduct of foreign policy.[46] His recent apprehensions, anticipated by his early critiques and embedded in his elitist principles, are indeed stark. Inattentive to and distrustful of the requirements for genuine statesmanship, democratic America—for George Kennan—cleaves to an external policy without ballast, easily subject to vicissitudes in the public mood, and at the mercy of amateurs and the seriously ignorant. And just as in his thirties, Kennan attributes these dreary facts to projections of doubtful political habits and dubious popular assumptions.

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NOTES

1. George Kennan, Manuscript—Part II, p. 16, File "1938" in Box 25—year written not indicated; probably 1940—Kennan Papers.
2. George Kennan's letter, dated February 1942, addressed to "My dear children," p. 2, File "1942" in Box 28, Kennan Papers.
3. Manuscript—Part II, p. 18–19.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 32.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. Ibid., p. 30.
8. Manuscript—Part I, p. 32–33.—also probably written in 1940. File "1938" in Box 25, Kennan Papers.
9. George Kennan, "The Prerequisites: Notes on Problems of the United States in 1938," p. 15, File "1938" in Box 25, Kennan Papers.
10. Ibid., p. 20.
11. Ibid., p. 16.
12. Ibid., p. 17.
13. Ibid., p. 17.
14. James McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 84.
15. "The Preresquisites," p. 18.
16. Ibid., p. 18.
17. Ibid., p. 19.
18. Ibid., p. 19.
19. Ibid., p. 3.
20. Ibid., p. 4.
21. Ibid., p. 5.

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22. Ibid., p. 6.
23. Ibid., p. 11.
24. George Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925–1950* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 493.
25. Ibid., p. 139.
26. *Foreign Relations of the United States 1949,* Vol. I, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 404.
27. George Kennan, "The Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs" pp. 224–225, September 26, 1951, File "1-B-19" in Box 2, Kennan Papers.
28. George Kennan, "History and Diplomacy as Viewed by a Diplomatist" p. 175 in *The Review of Politics,* Vol. 18, #2, April 1956.
29. Ibid., p. 176.
30. George Kennan, "Background of the Present World Situation," pp. 1–3, Haverford College, April 19, 1955, File "1-C-50" in Box 19, Kennan Papers.
31. George Kennan, "Remarks at Stevenson-for-President Committee," p. 6, April 30, 1956, File "1-C-56" in Box 19, Kennan Papers.
32. George Kennan's letter, dated March 15, 1965, addressed to Dr. Marion Grafin Donhoff, File "2-B, 1965" in Box 31, Kennan Papers.
33. "George Kennan" in *Current Biography,* October 1947, Box 32, Kennan Papers.
34. George Kennan's memorandum, "Adaptation of Foreign Service Training to Post-War Needs," p. 6, May 5, 1942, File "1942" in Box 32, Kennan Papers.
35. Ibid., p. 8.
36. Ibid., p. 15.
37. Ibid., p. 16.
38. In 1960 Kennan paid tribute to the lessons of drill and march when he recalled his years at St. John's Military Academy. "Above all, we learned what it meant to march in ranks, to merge one's effort with the efforts of other people, to bear a share of responsibility for the performance of an entire collective unit." Address by Kennan to St. John's Military Academy, June 4, 1960, p. 28, File "1-B-100" in Box 9, Kennan Papers.
39. "Adaptation," p. 9.
40. George Kennan, "Remarks to the Officer Staff of the Legation at Lisbon," p. 8, June 1944, File "1944" in Box 16, Kennan Papers.
41. Ibid., p. 8.
42. Ibid., pp. 9–10.
43. George Kennan, material for Reith Lecture, p. 5, November 17, 1957, File "1-E-12" in Box 26, Kennan Papers.
44. Ibid., p. 12.
45. George Kennan, *Democracy and the Student Left* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 17.
46. George Kennan, *The Cloud of Danger* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977), pp. 224–227.

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MARVIN RINTALA

Renamed Roses: Lloyd George, Churchill, and the House of Lords

On Budget Day, 1909, the Chancellor of the Exchequer walked to the House of Commons with his closest friend, the President of the Board of Trade,[1] who had recently succeeded him in that office.[2] The Chancellor was observed to walk "lightly and with twinkling eyes," while his friend was "grave with the weight of his colleague's responsibility."[3]

The Chancellor's mood soon changed. Fully conscious of the significance for his political career of the presentation of his first budget, he had prepared a typewritten script which, uncharacteristically, he proceeded to read word-for-word.[4] This script was one of the longest parliamentary statements on record,[5] running a total of four and one-half hours.[6] The burden proved too much even for the Chancellor. Halfway through, his face turned pale, his voice broke, and he started repeating sentences.[7] The President of the Board of Trade, sitting next to the Chancellor,[8] took him out for a break, after which the Chancellor resumed his interrupted speech.[9] When he finally finished speaking, the Chancellor judged his performance a "thorough flop."[10] Many of his listeners agreed,[11] and this speech may well have been the worst he ever gave.[12] The Chancellor need not have worried about the quality of his speaking. He was, and is, widely accepted as the most gifted speaker in modern British politics.[13] In any event, for the Chancellor speech was always less important than action. Policy mattered more to him than phrasing. Even in a speech, the message was more important than the medium. Words were for him only an instrument of power. In this respect, the Budget speech of 1909 became one of the landmarks of modern Western politics because of its creative content, and also

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because its content was eventually implemented after unprecedently bitter and prolonged conflict. The Chancellor wanted to alter the purposes of British government, and he did so. His was the first British budget intended to redistribute the national wealth of Britain.[14] He proposed taxing the wealthy, especially the great aristocratic landowners, to pay for social welfare programs, especially old-age pensions. The Chancellor got his way, with the crucial help at every stage of the President of the Board of Trade. With his enormous persuasive gifts, David Lloyd George had made Winston Churchill, in British terminology, a Radical. Together they were determined to create a welfare state. They did so, and in the process they also changed the way legislative decisions were made in Britain. The political struggle over the Budget of 1909 revealed many aspects of power in British society. None of those aspects was illuminated with greater clarity than the personal and political identities of David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. They were revealed as fighters, and the events of 1909–1911 revealed what they were willing to fight for, and what they were willing to fight against. They were also revealed as successful fighters, which might not have been evident in 1909. They were the only two members of the Cabinet totally committed to Lloyd George's Budget.

I

Even in the House of Commons, with their fellow Liberals still in solid control after the overwhelming Liberal Party victory in the 1906 general election, the task of Lloyd George and Churchill was not easy. The Gladstonian tradition of 'retrenchment' was still strong in the Liberal Party. Putting it bluntly but accurately, this tradition meant cutting, not raising, taxes, let alone raising taxes for social welfare purposes. Gladstone's state had been essentially a nightwatchman, governing best, in Liberal judgment, because it governed least. Liberalism meant freedom from governmental power. Liberalism in Britain still had the individualistic, rather than social, emphasis it also had in the United States before 1933. Governing least was not what Lloyd George and Churchill were in the Government to do. Governmental office was for them a necessary means to the end of changing Britain for what they firmly believed was the better.

If Lloyd George's Budget speech had been long, the House of Commons debate it initiated was even longer. For seventy parliamentary days and nights the House of Commons argued, taking 554 divisions on specific aspects of the Budget.[15] Lloyd George and Churchill would spend their mornings together,[16] planning parliamentary strategy. Churchill was frequently absent from Commons, especially in the eve-

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nings, to preside over mass meetings of the Budget League, a single-purpose pressure group created to mobilize public opinion behind Lloyd George's Budget.[17]

The House of Commons accepted the Budget. Apparently without appropriate modern precedent, the House of Lords rejected it. Prime Minister Asquith dissolved the House of Commons, forcing a general election on the issue of 'The Peers versus the People.' The ensuing intense struggle over the institutional structure of British government resulted eventually in the Parliament Act of 1911, which effectively destroyed the legislative power of the House of Lords. The major opponents of the legislative power of the House of Lords were David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill.[18] The general election of early 1910 kept the Liberals in governmental office. Churchill's prediction that "the people will restore" the Budget[19] proved accurate. After the new House of Commons approved, as had its predecessor, Lloyd George's Budget, the House of Lords accepted it without a division.[20] Since Lloyd George and Churchill continued unabated their attack upon the House of Lords after it had surrendered on the *casus belli*, the question arises: was the 1909 Budget intended to arouse the opposition of the House of Lords so that its legislative power could be destroyed? That question has been answered affirmatively,[21] and in the 1930s Lloyd George told Churchill's son that, as Chancellor, he deliberately included land taxes in his 1909 Budget to provoke the House of Lords.[22]

Lloyd George and Churchill certainly pursued the House of Lords in 1909–1911 with vigor and glee. Even before the Lords rejected his Budget, Lloyd George made his memorable speech on "The Land and the People" at Limehouse, in which he proclaimed: "Oh, these dukes, how they harass us!"[23] Harassment is, of course, a crime. Shortly after the rejection, Lloyd George told the National Liberal Club: "We have to arrest the animal. We have to see that he perpetrates no further crime."[24] Vengeance was in the air as Lloyd George continued: ". . . we have got them at last. And we do not mean to let them go until all the accounts have been settled."[25] To his constituents in Wales he confessed that he could not pretend to regret the conflict with the House of Lords.[26] To his Cabinet colleagues he made it clear he would resign if this conflict were not settled to his satisfaction.[27]

When the moment of decision came in 1911 the Cabinet did in fact, as Churchill wrote to his wife, accept "the LG-Winston view of tactics —the wisest and the boldest."[28] The new King, George V (Edward VII had died in 1910) was forced to promise that the Prime Minister could, if necessary, name enough new Peers to assure passage by the

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House of Lords of the Parliament Bill.[29] Churchill was willing to see five hundred new Peers created.[30] The rest of the Cabinet was not willing to abolish the House of Lords. Churchill got nowhere with his 1910 suggestion to Prime Minister Asquith: "The time has come for the total abolition of the House of Lords."[31] Asquith did, however, entrust to Churchill much of the strategic burden of guiding the Parliament Bill through the House of Commons.[32] Lloyd George was spending much of his time preparing what would become the complex National Insurance Act of 1911, the most important structural element of the British welfare state until after the Second World War. Asquith, especially in the evenings after dining well, was too drunk to make decisions, as Churchill lamented.[33] Churchill managed the strategy in Commons well, and the House of Lords was soon presented with the Parliament Bill. Mass creation of new Peers proved unnecessary. The House of Lords approved the Bill by 131 to 114,[34] with most Lords, as usual, neither present nor voting.

The continued existence of the House of Lords was enough for 131 Peers. They would not have legislative power, but they would continue to be members of an institution which was the focus of a value system which gave them social prestige, if it no longer gave them political power. Until 1911 the House of Lords had been the last institutional weapon of the power of the landed aristocracy, which had for so many centuries governed Britain. Since the Reform Act of 1832, the power of the landed aristocrats had gradually disintegrated.[35] Now that power was gone. Even though the House of Lords was powerless after 1911, it still had a function to play in the British political system, as Arnold Bennett saw in his memorable novel, *Lord Raingo,* two of whose characters are modeled on Lloyd George and Churchill. Sam Raingo meditates in 1918 on his fellow Ministers:

> The prestige of lordship was still enormous. Here and there one among the pack would disdainfully smile at the notion of taking a peerage; such as Andy [Lloyd George] and Tom Hogarth [Churchill]: but only because it would mean banishment from the Commons, where careers lay. In old age, however, when the Commons had got beyond their dwindling powers to dominate it, they would accept a peerage fast enough, and a peerage of the higher orders, on some self-justifying political pretext or other. They always did.[36]

II

That Lloyd George and Churchill would be in the vanguard of the struggle against the House of Lords in 1909–1911 was predictable on the basis of their earlier words and deeds. Churchill, at the holiest tem-

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ple of British Liberalism, the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, had, in 1907, attacked the House of Lords as "the fortress of negation and reaction."[37] He confidently expected that fortress would fall and the House of Commons "will be master."[38] He continued his argument in 1907 by explicitly suggesting that the Liberal Cabinet should use a budget to defeat the House of Lords.[39] This is exactly what happened in 1909–1911. Budget Day, 1909, was the first chance either Lloyd George or Churchill had to present a budget, and no other leading Liberals had their devotion either to social justice or to destroying the power of the House of Lords, let alone to both goals.

If there was any prior intention to use the 1909 Budget against the House of Lords, it was shared by Lloyd George and Churchill, and probably, at least fully, by no other major Liberal leaders. Churchill was the only Liberal Minister (and not yet at Cabinet level) to support Lloyd George's eagerness for action against the House of Lords in 1907.[40] Lloyd George did not give up. The next year he attacked "the malignant destructiveness" of "the charnel house across the road."[41] His persistence was not surprising, since already in 1893 he had urged "the pursuit and lynching" of the House of Lords.[42] When, in late 1909, Churchill published a book-length personal compaign manifesto, attacking the House of Lords in some of his most elegant, polished prose,[43] it was hardly likely that such prose was born in the heat of a general election campaign whose timing appeared entirely situationally determined. Churchill had, like Lloyd George, been waiting for the opportunity to speak his piece, and, like Lloyd George, he had the words ready.

When Lloyd George and Churchill walked to the House of Commons on Budget Day, 1909, they knew what they were doing, and the importance of what they were doing. When Queen Alexandra tried to prevent Churchill from being invited to a Court function with other Ministers of the Crown,[44] she knew what she was doing. When Alexandra's son, George V, disliked Lloyd George,[45] he knew what he was doing. When the occupants of the aristocratic stands at the coronation of George V booed Lloyd George,[46] they knew what they were doing. The hostility was mutual.

III

During the struggle over the House of Lords Lloyd George described the eldest sons of Peers as "the first of the litter."[47] His closest friend may have winced slightly at the language. Churchill was the elder—and perhaps the only[48]—son of Lord Randolph Churchill, who was, in

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turn, a younger son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough. Winston Churchill's paternal grandfather was tenth in seniority among the twenty non-royal dukes of the United Kingdom when his grandson was born in 1874.[49] The Marlboroughs were not, as Benjamin Disraeli correctly told Queen Victoria, especially rich for dukes.[50] Winston Churchill was nevertheless born in what may have been the biggest private house in England,[51] Blenheim Palace.[52] As a small boy he received a gift from the Prince of Wales, who was dining at the home of Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill.[53] As a teenager, Winston Churchill sailed with the future George V.[54]

For a time in the 1890s, after the death of Lord Randolph Churchill and before his cousin, the ninth Duke of Marlborough, had a son, Winston Churchill was the heir presumptive to the Dukedom of Marlborough.[55] While some persons seem to have assumed that he was a nobleman,[56] Winston Churchill was born, lived, and died a commoner. His father was also a commoner. Lord Randolph Churchill had a title by courtesy only. All, not merely eldest, sons of dukes and marquesses are entitled, in the United Kingdom, by courtesy only, to be called 'Lord.'[57] Holders of courtesy titles are not peers.[58] Since he was not an eldest son, Lord Randolph Churchill got no more than courtesy. If he had been a Peer of the Realm, he would have been called 'Randolph, Lord Churchill' and his brilliant if abbreviated career in the House of Commons would have been impossible.

Not only could Winston Churchill not inherit a real title from his father, he could not inherit even a courtesy title.[59] He was simply 'Mr. Winston Churchill.' Even that was not originally his name. He was christened Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill.[60] When he entered Harrow he signed his name Winston Spencer-Churchill.[61] Throughout his life he was identified as Spencer-Churchill in the Court Circular whenever he had an audience with the monarch.[62] The Spencers had entered the picture when Anne, daughter of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, married Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, making, under special dispensation, their progeny the line of the Dukes of Marlborough.[63]

While at Harrow Winston Spencer-Churchill simplified his name, probably because he disliked being near the end of the line whenever schoolboys were arranged alphabetically.[64] The simplified name had its own disadvantages, however. The initials it gave Winston Churchill did not always arouse respect.[65] In consequence, as a young man he settled gradually upon Winston Spencer Churchill, which was dignified but not stuffy, a commoner's name but still distinctive. Chur-

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chill would probably have agreed with Lord Northcliffe, who thought an appropriate name was helpful in a political career.[66] Churchill's new name also helped, especially when he was trying, as a young politician, to support himself by journalism and authorship, to avoid his being confused with an American novelist also named Winston Churchill. It is possible that some readers of the British Churchill's only, and early, novel *Savrola,* nevertheless thought they were reading a book by the American Churchill.[67] Being confused with someone else attracted Winston Spencer Churchill as little as standing near the ends of lines had earlier.

Churchill's commoner name satisfied him until almost the end of his long life. He declined more than one opportunity to acquire a new, noble, name. During the Second World War some of his followers hoped to make their leader a duke, but nothing came of this hope.[68] After his forced retirement from the prime ministership when the Conservative Party lost the general election of 1945, Churchill was offered, by George VI, a dukedom.[69] He would apparently have become Duke of Dover.[70] This was the first offer of a dukedom to a non-royal Britisher in the twentieth century.[71] Churchill refused a dukedom, as he also refused George VI's offer of a consolation prize, which would have made Churchill a Knight of the Garter.[72] In the Honors List published at the beginning of 1946 Churchill's name appeared as a recipient of the Order of Merit, the highest honor in the gift of the Crown which does not confer any title upon the recipient.[73] Later that year Clementine Churchill accepted the Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire. Contrary to conventional usage, she refused to be called 'Dame Clementine,' preferring to remain plain Mrs. Winston Churchill.[74] In May, 1965, a few months after her husband's death, Clementine Churchill accepted a life peerage, becoming Baroness Spencer-Churchill of Chartwell.[75]

Winston Churchill resolutely refused to accept a peerage. He would not listen to suggestions from his Conservative subordinates during his second prime ministership, after 1951, that he go to the House of Lords, which would have made his continued exercise of power difficult even if he had remained Prime Minister.[76] Those Conservatives who wanted to ship him off to the House of Lords probably thought it would be a polite way to enable themselves to exercise governmental power, but Churchill may not have considered such suggestions even to be polite. In 1907 he had spoken with contempt of a fellow politician who "luckily escaped from the rage of his constituents into an asylum in the House of Lords."[77] Churchill understood what Arnold Ben-

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nett had been talking about. For Churchill, as for Bennett, the House of Lords was a place of rest for defeated politicians, and Churchill did not view himself as defeated, yet anyway.

In 1953 Churchill did accept, from a young Elizabeth II who had not been around for any of the struggles Churchill had had with or over several of her predecessors, the Order of the Garter, becoming Sir Winston Churchill, K. G.[78] In 1955, finally defeated by old age, Churchill retired from the prime ministership and toyed with the idea of becoming Duke of London before deciding against it.[79] He preferred to stay in the House of Commons. He would speak there no more, but at least he would be where the interesting speeches and the action were. Furthermore, the company was more congenial to him, and it had been his real home for so long. He retired from the House of Commons only a few months before his death in 1965. He never sat, and he never wanted to sit, in the House of Lords. His doctor was correct in perceiving: "The House of Lords means nothing to him."[80]

IV

Winston Churchill was the only person outside the Lloyd George family ever to address the adult Lloyd George as 'David.'[81] That was Churchill's customary usage, except when he addressed Lloyd George, even in public, as simply "My dear."[82] The rest of the world, not being permitted, or in some cases not wanting, this degree of familiarity, was less certain of how to address, or refer to, Lloyd George. Some called him 'Lloyd George' and others called him 'George.' The latter usage angered him, for he considered it an insult.[83] His enemies therefore took pains to address him as "My Dear George."[84] Which surname was, or is, used helps to sort out, at least among the knowledgeable, those who admired, or admire, Lloyd George from those who did, or do, not.

Lloyd George's father, a school teacher who died of pneumonia when his older son was less than seventeen months old, was William George. Before her marriage, Lloyd George's mother was Elizabeth Lloyd. Their older son was born in 1863 in Manchester.[85] When her husband died, Elizabeth Lloyd George, pregnant with another son, moved back to Wales, to live with her unmarried brother Richard Lloyd, a master cobbler. Her sons,[86] and an older daughter,[87] grew into adulthood in the home which Elizabeth Lloyd George shared with Richard Lloyd, whom the children addressed as 'Uncle Lloyd.' Lloyd George was baptized into the Disciples of Christ tradition at the age of twelve. The baptismal record, in Richard Lloyd's hand, records the

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new Disciple's name as 'David Lloyd-George.'[88] Throughout his childhood he had been called, and had called himself, 'David Lloyd.'[89] When he was first in Parliament, in 1890, he was already identified in Hansard as 'David Lloyd George.'[90]

Later Lloyd George liked to recall that he was "one of the children of the people"[91] who had become "a man of the people."[92] This appealing assertion was taken at face value by others, who accepted the picture of a cottage bred boy who was "at heart, a peasant."[93] The gullible saw Lloyd George as a "plebian" who "had earlier tasted poverty."[94] Although no British Prime Minister before Lloyd George had come from humbler origins,[95] Lloyd George was not the British Lincoln. Persons of working-class background had no chance to climb to the top of the greased pole in Lloyd George's generation. His social origins were in fact provincial petit bourgeois[96] or lower middle class.[97] His childhood was not spent in poverty,[98] for his family was probably the best-off in the village of Llanystumdwy.[99] Their home was comfortable,[100] and everyone in it understood that David Lloyd George would never work at manual labor.[101] He was in fact trained as a solicitor. The additional training needed to become a barrister might well have been financially impossible at that time,[102] but later, when Lloyd George could have well afforded that additional training, he declined to qualify as a barrister.[103] For him, the practice of law at any level had no inherent value, only instrumental value, as a gateway to politics. He later suggested, probably correctly, that being a solicitor prepared him better for making practical political decisions than being a barrister would have.[104] Lloyd George was the first solicitor to serve as Chancellor of the Exchequer,[105] and of that he was proud.

Certainly the adult lifestyle of Lloyd George was not plebian. When he died one of his properties—a farm called, in Welsh, appropriately, 'The Breast of the South,' where he lived with Frances Stevenson, his mistress of three decades who eventually became his second wife—included seven hundred acres of productive land and employed eighty persons.[106] He left an estate of approximately £140,000.[107] That was quite a tidy sum in 1945. What was surprising was not that Lloyd George had acquired so much, but, considering the luxurious scale on which he lived, there was anything left. Lenin was not far wrong when he described Lloyd George as "that big, not petty, bourgeois."[108]

Lenin was, however, entirely off the mark when he referred to Lloyd George as "the leader of the British bourgeoisie."[109] This Lloyd George never was. He was from, but not of, the British middle class. His political values were those of a radical reformer of society. He was

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not a peasant, but he spoke for the peasant. The Wales in which he grew up was still essentially agricultural, and characterized by great inequalities in social, political, and economic life. To reduce these inequalities became Lloyd George's cause. Throughout his career he fought for land reform, by urging measures ranging from heavy taxes on wealthy landowners to nationalization of the land.[110] As he put it on the last day of 1909, "the land of England was not made for the partridges [of landed aristocrats], but for the peasants of England."[111] At heart Lloyd George was a radical agrarian reformer.[112] That is the unifying thread in his life. He always remained true to the need to improve the lives of those who worked, generally without owning much of, the land. That was his strength, but also his weakness. The Wales where he grew up was already atypical of most of Britain, which was urbanized and industrialized. As agriculture became less and less important, Lloyd George seemed less and less relevant to urban workers. Lloyd George often fought for their rights, but he did not seem, at least to them, to have his heart in it.[113] Perhaps if he had not had a safe parliamentary seat in rural and small-town Wales for fifty-five years he would have to come more effectively to grips with the industrial revolution. Then, of course, he would not have been himself.

Chasing landed aristocrats, and catching them, gave pleasure to Lloyd George, and for many decades he did nothing to conceal his contempt for them. As the victorious Prime Minister at the end of the First World War, he accepted, as Churchill would at the end of his war, the Order of Merit,[114] and refused, even from a now-repentant George V, any honor that carried a knighthood with it.[115] After a royal visit to Wales in 1937, Lloyd George laughed at the thought of a knighthood.[116] A few months later, on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, which he spent playing golf at Antibes, he enjoyed hearing that, entirely false, rumors were spreading back in Britain that he was going to the House of Lords.[117] The closest he came in the next several years to a seat in the House of Lords was to visit that chamber in 1942 to preside, presumably in his capacity as Father of the House of Commons, at an unusual joint gathering of the two Houses to hear Jan Smuts speak.[118]

The time came when Lloyd George's life and political career both took a decisive, and dramatic, turn. In late 1944, ill with cancer, he became preoccupied with what his illness meant for the physical demands presented by campaigning for reelection to his House of Commons seat in the next general election, whose date would presum-

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ably be determined by the end of the Second World War. He recognized that wartime geographical mobility had changed the social composition of the Caernarvon Boroughs electorate. He was not confident that any Liberal candidate, even the most famous, could carry the constituency if there were other candidates. Other parties were not willing to commit themselves in advance not to contest the seat, and he did not feel physically able to make the speeches a contest would surely require.[119] He desperately wanted to have an official platform from which to speak on the forthcoming peace settlement.[120] As the only surviving author of the Treaty of Versailles, perhaps he was not only entitled but obligated so to speak. Prime Minister Churchill, now a Conservative, offered his closest friend an earldom, and Lloyd George accepted.[121] The officials of the Order of the Garter, whose life experiences had perhaps not been extensive, refused the request of the new earl to bear the title 'Earl Lloyd George of Dwyfor'[122] because they argued, his name was George, not Lloyd George. Upon production of Lloyd George's baptismal certificate, Letters Patent were issued for Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor.[123] Churchill had once shed a hyphenated name, and now, a half-century later, he gave Lloyd George a spare hyphen. Earls in the United Kingdom wear coronets, and are officially styled cousins of the monarch.[124]

The great Commoner of British politics became an honorary cousin of George VI. The new earl's loyal followers were much saddened.[125] From this perspective, Lloyd George's renunciation of himself seems not only sad but pointless. His eldest son, Richard Lloyd George (named for Uncle Lloyd), whom his father had earlier cut out of his will, inherited his father's title if not his money.[126] Lloyd George's fear that he would lose his seat at the next election may have been overly pessimistic. An obscure Liberal candidate won the contested by-election occasioned by Lloyd George's resignation from the House of Commons,[127] although the seat was narrowly won by the Conservative Party in the general election of 1945.[128] Lloyd George died before he could sit in the House of Lords, and he had been dead many months before the general election of 1945 took place. Even if he had lived, he would never have been able to speak on the peace settlement ending the Second World War, for there was no peace settlement. Only the last of these developments would have saddened David Lloyd George.

V

On March 28, 1955, the Prime Minister rose to speak one last time as Prime Minister, and one last time in the House of Commons. The first

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time he had risen to speak in the House of Commons, more than fifty-four years earlier, it had been to respond to a speech by the Member for Caernarvon Boroughs. This time it was to move approval of a statue of the late Member for Caernarvon Boroughs. The Prime Minister's motion was approved. A statue of David Lloyd George now flanks the Churchill Arch leading into the Chamber of the House of Commons. There is no memorial to their lives in the House of Lords except for the idle chatter of the powerless.

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Chestnut Hill, MA.

NOTES

1. Frank Dilnot, *Lloyd George: The Man and His Story* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1917), p. 74.
2. When, in 1908, the new President of the Board of Trade first received Cabinet rank, British custom obliged him to resign his parliamentary seat, to stand for reelection. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer campaigned energetically for his friend. Herbert du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. II (London: Caxton, 1913), p. 506. The Chancellor thereby violated the convention that Cabinet members did not campaign in by-elections. Hugh Martin, *Battle: The Life Story of the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1932), p. 76. For this campaigning the Chancellor was attacked by the leader of the Conservative Party, A. J. Balfour. H. A. Taylor, *Jix: Viscount Brentford* (London: Stanley Paul, 1933), pp. 8,, 91–92.
3. Ephesian, *Winston Churchill,* 2nd ed. (London: Mills & Boon, 1927), p. 146. 'Ephesian' was a pen name of Carl Eric Bechhofer-Roberts.
4. Thomas Jones, *Lloyd George* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 36; Robert Speaight, *The Life of Hilaire Belloc* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1957), p. 233.
5. Alan Clark, ed., *'A Good Innings': The Private Papers of Viscount Lee of Fareham* (London: John Murray, 1974), pp. 102–103.
6. Jack Jones, *The Man David* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1944), p. 159.
7. Clark, ed., *'A Good Innings,'* p. 103.
8. Ephesian, *Winston Churchill,* p. 146.
9. Jones, *The Man David,* p. 159.
10. Don M. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales: Lloyd George's Career before the First World War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), p. 125.
11. Alexander Mackintosh, *From Gladstone to Lloyd George: Parliament in Peace and War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921), p. 167; A. J. A. Morris, *C. P. Trevelyan 1870–1958: Portrait of a Radical* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), p. 79; Arthur C. Murray, *Master and Brother: Murrays of Elibank* (London: John Murray, 1945), p. 19; Bruce K. Murray, "The Politics of the 'People's Budget,' " *The Historical Journal* 16 (September 1973): 565.
12. Peter Rowland, *Lloyd George* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), p. 216.

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13. John Campbell, *Lloyd George: The Goat in the Wilderness 1922–1931* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), p. 236; A. P. Herbert, *Independent Member* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1951), p. 41; Harold Macmillian, *The Past Masters: Politics and Politicians 1906–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 56; Pierre Maillaud, *The English Way* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 79; Donald McCormick, *The Mask of Merlin: A Critical Study of David Lloyd George* (London: Macdonald, 1963), p. 18; Frank Owen, *Tempestuous Journey: Lloyd George: His Life and Times* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), p. 98; J. B. Priestley, *The Edwardians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 42, 114; Arthur Salter, *Slave of the Lamp: a public servant's notebook* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), p. 54; C. P. Snow, *Variety of Men* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 99–100; Harold Wilson, *A Prime Minister on Prime Ministers* (New York: Summit Books, 1977), p. 138.
14. Randolph S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. II (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967), p. 31.
15. Ibid., p. 312; Robert Rhodes James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897–1963,* vol. II (New York: Chelsea House, 1974), p. 1346.
16. E. T. Raymond, *Mr. Lloyd George* (New York: Goerge H. Doran, 1922), p. 124. 'E. T. Raymond' was a pen name of E. R. Thompson.
17. Owen, *Tempestuous Journey,* p.. 173.
18. Violet Bonham Carter, *Winston Churchill: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), p. 147; Frank Brennand, *The Young Churchill* (London: New English Library, 1972), p. 39; Peter de Mendelssohn, *The Age of Churchill: Heritage and Adventure 1874–1911* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 453; Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, *More Equal Than Others: The Changing Fortunes of the British and European Aristocracies* (London: Michael Joseph, 1970), pp. 163–164; Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *Churchill: The Making of a Hero* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1942), p. 123.
19. Winston Spencer Churchill, *The People's Rights* (New York: Taplinger, 1971), p. 99.
20. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. II, p. 327.
21. Basil Murray, *L. G.* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1932), pp. 54–55. This book begins with Lloyd George's distinctive imprimatur, claiming he had not read the manuscript.
22. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. II, p. 312.
23. Herbert du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV (London: Caxton, 1913), p. 683. Lloyd George later gave pride of place among his speeches to Limehouse. *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After 1918–1923* ondon: Victor Gollancz, 1933), p. 156. The impact of the Limehouse speech is nevertheless exaggerated in Malcolm Thomson, *David Lloyd George: The Official Biography* (London: Hutchinson, no date), p. 186.
24. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV, p. 697.
25. Ibid., pp. 705–706.
26. Ibid., p. 715.
27. Murray, *Master and Brother,* p. 45; Murray, *L. G.*, p. 55.
28. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. II, p. 346.
29. Ibid., pp. 330–331.
30. Ibid., pp. 336, 347.

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31. Ibid., p. 324.
32. Ibid., p. 331.
33. Ibid., p. 332. Churchill's observation of Asquith's drinking problem did not prevent him from suffering the same problem. A. Scott Berg, *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978), p. 408; John Davenport and Charles J. V. Murphy, *The Lives of Winston Churchill* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), pp. 3, 29; M. R. D. Foot, "Sir Winston Churchill," in Herbert Van Thal, ed., *The Prime Ministers,* vol. II (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), p. 310; Robert H. Pilpel, *Churchill in America 1895–1961: An Affectionate Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976) p. 235; Stephen Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), pp. 101–102, 243; Snow, *Variety of Men,* p. 120. In 1922 Churchill was defeated for reelection as Member of Parliament from Dundee by the first Prohibitionist ever elected to the House of Commons, David Walder, *The Chanak Affair* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 330.
34. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. II, p. 348.
35. Marvin Rintala, "Two Compromises: Victorian and Bismarckian," *Government and Opposition* 3 (Spring 1968): 207–221.
36. Arnold Bennett, *Lord Raingo* (New York: George H. Doran, 1926), p. 62.
37. James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. I, p. 713.
38. Ibid., p. 717.
39. Ibid., p. 718.
40. Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 190.
41. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV, p. 638.
42. D. A. Hamer, *Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery: A Study in Leadership and Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 193.
43. Churchill, *The People's Rights,* especially pp. 23, 37.
44. Edward David, ed., *Inside Asquith's Cabinet: From the Diaries of Charles Hobhouse* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 91.
45. Edward, Duke of Windsor, "Reflections of a One-Time Prince of Wales," *McCall's* 96 (June 1969): 107.
46. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales,* p. 169.
47. Bonham Carter, *Winston Churchill,* p. 146.
48. It has been argued that John Strange Jocelyn, godfather of John Strange Churchill, Winston Churchill's only, and younger, sibling, was also John Strange Churchill's father. Ted Morgan, *Churchill: Young Man in a Hurry 1874–1915* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), pp. 28, 71.
49. Henry Pelling, *Winston Churchill* (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 18.
50. Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1968), p. 658.
51. John Spencer Churchill, *A Churchill Canvas* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), p. 20.
52. Elizabeth Longford, *Winston Churchill* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1974), p. 15.
53. Robert Rhodes James, *Lord Randolph Churchill: Winston Churchill's Father* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1960), p. 111.
54. Harold Nicolson, *King George V: His Life and Reign* (London: Constable, 1952), p. 39.
55. Pelling, *Winston Churchill,* p. 20.
56. James Leutze, ed., *The London Observer: The Journal of General Raymond E. Lee*

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1940–1941 (London: Hutchinson, 1972), p. 376; Pilpel, *Churchill in America,* p. 14.

57. Simon Winchester, *Their Noble Lordships: Class and Power in Modern Britain* (New York: Random House, 1982), p. 16.
58. Ibid., p. 15.
59. Montagu, *More Equal Than Others,* p. 141.
60. Longford, *Winston Churchill,* p. 15.
61. Robert Payne, *The Great Man: A Portrait of Winston Churchill* (New York: Coward, McCann Geoghegan, 1974), p. 59.
62. Randolph S. Churchill. *Twenty-One Years* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 5; Ephesian, *Winston Churchill,* p. 15n.
63. Pelling, *Winston Churchill,* p. 20; Cecil Roberts, *One Year of Life: Some Autobiographical Pages* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 45n. John Churchill's only surviving son had died in adolescence of smallpox. A. L. Rowse, *The Churchills: The Story of a Family* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 145, 179.
64. Morgan, *Churchill,* p. 43.
65. Wingfield-Stratford, *Churchill,* p. 102.
66. Tom Clarke, *Northcliffe in History: An Intimate Study of Press Power* (London: Hutchinson, 1950), p. 58.
67. Rowse, *The Churchills,* p. 428.
68. Davenport and Murphy, *The Lives of Winston Churchill,* pp. 86–87.
69. Payne, *The Great Man,* p. 348; Olivia Coolidge, *Winston Churchill and the Story of Two World Wars* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 260; Arthur Krock, "Randolph—Without the Boast of Heraldry, the Pomp of Pow'r," in Kay Halle, ed., *The Grand Original: Portraits of Randolph Churchill by his friends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), p. 178.
70. Winchester, *Their Noble Lordships,* p. 49.
71. Tom Cullen, *Maundy Gregory: Purveyor of Honours* (London: The Bodley Head, 1974), p. 28.
72. Churchill, *A Churchill Canvas,* p. 238; Pelling, *Winston Churchill,* p. 557; Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill: The Biography of a Marriage* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p. 571, Malcolm Thomson, *Churchill: His Life and Times* (London: Odhams Books, 1965), p. 397.
73. Thomson, *Churchill,* p. 408.
74. Soames, *Clementine Churchill,* p. 433.
75. Ibid., p. 668. Chartwell Manor, in Kent, was the home of Clementine and Winston Churchill for more than forty years.
76. *Churchill: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran: The Struggle for Survival 1940-1965* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), pp. 401–408.
77. James, ed., *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. I, p. 716.
78. *Churchill,* pp. 430–431; Payne, *The Great Man,* pp. 357–358; Thomson, *Churchill,* p. 442.
79. Pelling, *Winston Churchill,* p. 643. For an imprecise account of this episode, see Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, *The Growth of the British Party System,* vol. II (London: John Baker, 1965), p. 204.
80. *Churchill,* p. 425.
81. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales,* p. 18; Colin Cross, ed., *Life with Lloyd George: The Diary of A. J. Sylvester 1931–45* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1975), p. 288;

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John Ehrman, "Lloyd George and Churchill as War Ministers," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th series, vol. XI, p. 102; Frances, Countess Lloyd-George of Dwyfor, "Introduction" to Thomson, *David Lloyd George,* p. 17; Snow, *Variety of Men,* p. 96; A. J. Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George* (London: Cassell, 1947), p. 287; A. J. P. Taylor, "Lloyd George," in Lord Longford and Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, eds., *The History Makers: Leaders and Statesmen of the 20th Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 80.

82. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill,* vol. V (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977); Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters 1930–1939,* ed. Nigel Nicolson (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 394.
83. Lord Beaverbrook, *The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George: And Great Was the Fall Thereof* (London: Collins, 1966), p. 303; David, ed., *Inside Asquith's Cabinet,* p. 273; Lord Hankey, *Politics, Trials and Errors* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950), p. 1.
84. Wilson Harris, *J. A. Spender* (London: Cassell, 1946), p. 95.
85. The house where Lloyd George was born no longer stands. A plaque on nearby public housing incorrectly honors the 'Earl of Dwyfor.' John Grigg, *The Young Lloyd George* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), p. 23. As late as 1954, there was not even an incorrect marker. Owen, *Tempestuous Journey,* p. 14.
86. Lloyd George's brother was known throughout his lifetime of one hundred and two years as William George. While in his nineties William George published a masterpiece of sibling rivalry, *My Brother and I* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958).
87. Lloyd George's sister was known until her marriage as Mary Ellen George.
88. Cross, ed., *Life with Lloyd George,* pp. 337–338.
89. E. Thornton Cook, *What Manner of Men? Our Prime Ministers in Action and Word from J. Ramsay Macdonald to Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield)* (London: Heath Cranton, 1934), p. 54; W. Watkin Davies, *Lloyd George 1863–1914* (London: Constable, 1939), p. 20; Herbert du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. I (London: Caxton, 1912), pp. 23–24; Jones, *Lloyd George,* p. 3; Raymond, *Mr. Lloyd George,* p. 21; Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 9.
90. Raymond, *Mr. Lloyd George,* p. 47.
91. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV, p. 685; E. Royston Pike, *Human Documents of the Lloyd George Era* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1972), p. 107.
92. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV, p. 637.
93. Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare, *Let Candles Be Brought In* (London: Macdonald, 1949), p. 67. See also ibid., p. 50.
94. James C. Humes, *Churchill: Speaker of the Century* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), p. 113.
95. Wilson, *A Prime Minister on Prime Ministers,* p. 138.
96. Campbell, *Lloyd George,* p. 4.
97. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales,* p. 7.
98. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. I, p. 14.
99. Grigg, *The Young Lloyd George,* p. 31.
100. Jones, *Lloyd George,* p. 2.
101. Raymond, *Mr. Lloyd George,* pp. 13, 26, 29.
102. Thomson, *David Lloyd George,* p. 59.

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103. Cregier, *Bounder from Wales,* p. 92.
104. The Earl of Swinton, *Sixty Years of Power: Some memories of the men who wielded it* (London: Hutchinson, 1966), pp. 44–45.
105. Cook, *What Manner of Men?,* p. 60.
106. Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 745.
107. Alfred T. Davies, *The Lloyd George I Knew: Some Side-Lights on a Great Career: Supplemented by the Story of the Welsh Department* (London: Henry E. Walter, 1948), p. 115; Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 90.
108. V. I. Lenin, *'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (Moscow: Progress, 1975), p. 70.
109. Ibid., p. 66.
110. Sir Austen Chamberlain, *Politics From Inside: An Epistolary Chronicle 1906–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 533; Sir Dingle Foot, *British Political Crises* (London: William Kimber, 1976), p. 78.
111. du Parcq, *Life of David Lloyd George,* vol. IV, p. 742.
112. Campbell, *Lloyd George,* p. 285; *Leon Trotsky on Britain* (New York: Monad Press, 1973), pp. 188–189.
113. Hamer, *Liberal Politics,* p. 328; Kenneth O. Morgan, *The Age of Lloyd George* (New York: Barnes Noble, 1971), p. 37; Kenneth O. Morgan, "Lloyd George's Premiership: A Study in 'Prime Ministerial Government,'" *The Historical Journal* 13 (1970): 140; Taylor, "Lloyd George," p. 79; Chris Wrigley, *David Lloyd George and the British Labour Movement: Peace and War* (Hassocks: The Harvester Press, 1976), p. 4.
114. Raymond, *Mr. Lloyd George,* p. 297.
115. Sir Frederick Ponsonby, *Reflections of Three Reigns* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1952), p. 464.
116. Cross, ed., *Life with Lloyd George,* p. 184.
117. Ibid., p. 187.
118. Jones, *Lloyd George,* p. 258'
119. Ibid., p. 259; Rowland, *Lloyd George,* pp. 795–796; Shakespeare, *Let Candles Be Brought In,* p. 46; Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George,* pp. 303–304.
120. Cross, ed., *Life with Lloyd George,* p. 313; Jones, *Lloyd George,* p. 260.
121. Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George,* p. 303.
122. The River Dwyfor falls from the Welsh mountains into the sea. From the banks of the Dwyfor Davy Lloyd fished for trout as a boy, and on those banks David Lloyd George is buried. His body arrived there on a farm wagon, and is covered by a large rock taken from the river.
123. Sylvester, *The Real Lloyd George,* pp. 306–307.
124. Sir Iain Moncreiffe, "Foreword" to Montagu, *More Equal Than Others,* p. 15.
125. Davies, *The Lloyd George I Knew,* pp. 115–116; Jones, *Lloyd George,* p. 260; McCormick, *The Mask of Merlin,* p. 300; Owen, *Tempestuous Journey,* p. 755; Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 796; A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 562.
126. Cross, ed., *Life with Lloyd George,* p. 19; Rowland, *Lloyd George,* p. 790.
127. F. W. S. Craig, ed., *British Electoral Facts 1885–1975* (London: Macmillan, 1976), p. 51.
128. Ibid., p. 133. Caernarvon Boroughs disappeared as a constituency in the 1948 redistribution of seats. Ibid., p. 147; Cross ed., *Life with Lloyd George,* pp. 330–331.

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Featured Review

Featured Reviews are especially provocative discussions of highly significant works. They appear on a recurring basis. (Review Editor).

TWO BIOGRAPHIES OF MARGARET MEAD

JANE HOWARD, *Margaret Mead Alive.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. 527pp. $19.95; and MARY CATHERINE BATESON, *With a Daughter's Eye.* New York: Morrow Publishing Co., 1984. 242pp. $15.95.

The publication of two new books on Margaret Mead[1] focuses welcome attention on the woman who was not only one of the country's leading anthropologists but a beloved public figure who represented her discipline in the popular mind. Her career as a national celebrity began with the explosive success of her 1928 study, *Coming of Age in Samoa,* and continued with such works as *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930), *Sex and Temperament* (1935), *Balinese Character* (1942; with Gregory Bateson), *New Lives for Old* (1956), and a host of other writings. No other anthropologist ever managed so to capture the popular imagination, perhaps because from the beginning she saw her work as not reserved solely for the specialist; instead, she took care to spell out the implications of her study of stone age cultures for twentieth-century Americans. For decades associated with the American Museum of Natural History and Columbia University, she saw herself as a writer rather than an educator, but in either case, she was moved by the didactic impulse in the broadest sense; it lent vigor and clarity to her prose, making it accessible to the common reader. One of the few

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American intellectuals who did not see a bridgeless chasm between popular culture and scholarship, she saw nothing wrong with writing a regular column in *Redbook* or appearing almost as regularly on national TV talk shows.

Both of Mead's new biographers focus on her personal life over her professional career—inasmuch as the two can ever be separated in her case—to reveal a figure of far greater complexity than the somewhat bland self-portrait Mead had produced in her 1972 autobiography, *Blackberry Winter.* A woman of furious energy who rarely had the time or inclination for introspection, Mead tended to smooth over the rough corners of her life in her memoirs—a propensity that doubtless was reinforced by the need for discretion, for all three of her ex-husbands were then alive. As one might have suspected, her biography reveals that parting from each of them (Luther Cressman, Reo Fortune, and Gregory Bateson) was a considerably more anguished affair than she would later admit. All three men were interesting figures in their own right. Bateson, the best known, was a theorist in such diverse fields as animal behavior, ecology, cybernetics, psychiatry, anthroplogy, and communications before becoming something of a counterculture guru in his later years, so that others besides his daughter Mary Catherine have found him a fascinating subject for study. (David Lipset's biography of him appeared in 1980, three years after the publication of *About Bateson,* a collection of essays about his work.) Reo Fortune's classic book *The Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932) is still in print and has been required reading for anthroplogy students for decades, while Luther Cressman, a minister-turned-anthropologist, became a respected authority on paleo-Indian culture, discovering the oldest dated New World artifact in the form of a 9,000-year-old pair of sandals. On each of these men Mead exerted a decisive influence, bringing two of them into the field of anthroplogy from other disciplines. Fortune, whom she met on shipboard, was en route to Cambridge to study psychology, while Cressman, to whom she was engaged for six years before their five-year marriage, was persuaded by her to change from Methodism to Episcopalianism and later to abandon the ministry entirely for a career in the social sciences. (Bateson had made his own transition from biology to anthropology by the time he met Mead in New Guinea.)

Before the publication of *Blackberry Winter* Mead tended to hide the fact of her first marriage, and in her book serenely dismissed it as a "student marriage," much to Cressman's annoyance. To Jane Howard, who interviewed him, he insisted that their union had been no tempo-

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rary expedient but a binding commitment on both their parts. Nor, he noted wryly, was the marriage "unclouded by fears of pregnancy," as Mead had written in her autobiography. "Not much we weren't afraid of it," he told the interviewer. "Only once a month, that's all" (pp. 61–63). If by leaving her hometown beau, the eminently sane and stable Luther, for romance and scholarly collaboration with more exotic mates, Mead got more than she bargained for, as both Fortune and Bateson were eccentrics in their various ways. Fortune, whom Howard did not get to interview before his death from falling down a flight of stairs at Wolfson College, Cambridge, comes off as the least attractive of her spouses. After the initial passion of their romance cooled, Mead found him a difficult working partner in the field because of his jealous, quarrelsome nature. There was also his peculiar attitude toward illness, which he believed could be overcome by sheer force of will, so he ignored Margaret's terrifying attacks of malaria which she contacted during her New Guinea field trips. Later, when she was back in civilization and running a high fever, he refused to go to the drugstore for a thermometer, obliging her to borrow a neighbor's to discover that her temperature was 105°.

Once Gregory Bateson came on the scene, sexual jealousy was added to professional jealousy with singularly unpleasant results: at one point he gave his pregnant wife a miscarriage by knocking her down, and remarked with cryptic logic, "Gregory ate our baby." But then, as Howard writes, Fortune's thinking "had never been easy to follow." Nor, apparently, was his writing, to judge from the excerpts of his correspondence which Howard prints. In an incoherent letter describing the breakup of their marriage Fortune writes, ". . . I am not going to be any stage comedy edition of a Patriarch, without any real cultural supports. Better be beggar than owner of luv or wenshes [sic] —and dispense with the owlish gravities between one Owner Capitalist and another Owner Capitalist—instead beggar's freedom" (p. 160). Perhaps one should ascribe prose like this to the malaria he suffered from about this time.

Fortune remarried in 1937 and taught at universities in China and Canada before ending up as a lecturer at Cambridge, but his career as an anthropologist seems to have peaked with his marriage to Mead. The few books he published after his first marriage were based on their earlier field work together, and he published nothing at all after a linguistic monograph on the Arapesh of New Guinea in 1942. Friends and relations of his whom Jane Howard interviewed tended to blame Mead for the decline in his professional fortunes, feeling that she had

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somehow "destroyed" him, and that he failed to publish his long-intended ethnography of the Mundugumor tribe they had studied together because he was too much the gentleman to disagree publicly with her interpretation. Both claims seem highly improbable; it is far more likely that Mead offered him more intellectual stimulation than he ever found anywhere else.

Gregory Bateson, the last of Mead's three husbands (and the only one to walk out on *her*), was by the account of both her biographers the great love of her life. It is difficult to arrive at a just estimate of his career, which crossed the boundaries of so many disciplines: coming out of a distinguished intellectual background, with his father a pioneer in the study of genetics in England, he moved from anthropology into a series of other fields, never exactly abandoning the previous area of study but incorporating it into his larger concern with patterns of learning and communication. His students used to complain, with some justification, of not knowing what his university courses were *about:*

> There were dolphins in them, but they were not about dolphins; there were New Guinea rituals and schizophrenics and alcoholics and Balinese child rearing, woven together with quotations from Blake or Jung or Samuel Butler and the challenges to students to look at a crab or a shell and say how they recognized it as produced by organic growth, to look at a sacrament and say what one earth was going on. (CB, 109–10)

Even his sympathetic biographer David Lipset, in *Gregory Bateson: The Legacy of a Scientist,* admits that Bateson's ideas were not easily expressed: "Drawing recklessly, it seemed upon all manner of phenomena, he was always suggesting unsuspected connections between them. One somehow felt that imbedded in the stories, formulations, humor, and pessimism was an integrated view of the world which, for some reason, he would only imply and not articulate."[2] When he did, he invented such concepts as "metalogues," "schismogenesis," and "deutero-leaning," but the most famous coinage he is known for is the "double-bind" theory of schizophrenia according to which the patients' parents—particularly the mothers—were accused of fostering the disease by their inconsistent behavior. The notion was later discredited with the growing knowledge of biochemistry, but Bateson did not care; although employed for years at the Veterans' Administration hospital at Menlo Park, he had an equivocal relationship with psychiatry at best, and in his later years disavowed the clinical applications of his theory when criticized by the psychiatric press. A born theorist, he

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remained supremely skeptical of the value of applied social science in any field, ever since his World War II experience in psychological warfare. Nevertheless, he willingly allowed himself to be supported by a host of governmental institutions and private foundations, and, even more than the gregarious Margaret Mead, adored interdisciplinary conference at which participants from a broad range of fields planned the future of the human race.

Because for so much of his life he was a rebel against the Western rationalist tradition in which he had been brought up, Bateson was surprised to find in the last decade of his life that his alienation was so widely shared, his interests suddenly so fashionable. He need not have wondered, since he was in all the right places at the right time: he studied dolphin behavior with John Lilly, wrote on ecology, taught at the most experimental college of the nontraditional Santa Cruz campus of the University of California (and was appointed to the University's Board of Regents by one of his admirers, Governor Jerry Brown), lived in Esselen, and died at the San Francisco Zen Center. Although he accepted medical treatment in his last illness, he usually neglected his body just as he did the social properties: he allowed his teeth to rot and drop out unreplaced, and let a festering foot wound go untreated for a year (in a manner perhaps reminiscent of Reo Fortune). In other ways, however, his life parallels that of another British expatriate, Aldous Huxley, who also grew up in a family renowned in the life sciences, and came to investigate Eastern mysticism in the California sunshine.

As parents, Bateson and Mead were caring but unconventional. From the moment of Mary Catherine Bateson's birth (which was filmed, at the mother's insistence), her parents observed her behavior with scientific precision. At the same time, to a large extent she was allowed to grow up, like the proverbial cuckoo, in other people's nests. Mead, who was separated from her husband for long periods during World War II and finally divorced from him in 1950, arrived at her unusual household arrangements out of necessity, but they also represented her belief in the superiority of the communal household over the nuclear family. As a (virtually) single mother with an all-absorbing career, she required full-time child care that was first supplied by an English nanny and later by the friends Colin and Mary Frank with whom she and Gregory shared a house in Greenwich Village. Cathy thus grew up with the many Frank children as foster-siblings, as well as two English girls, Gregory's godchildren, who were sent to America for the duration of the war.

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In preparing for the birth of her daughter, Margaret Mead anticipated by a generation or more current childbirth practices. She chose as her pediatrician Benjamin Spock before he gained fame as the author of *Baby and Child Care,* and was concerned to make childbirth more a personal and less a purely medical event. She inquired as to the possibility of giving birth squatting rather than lying back, and chose a hospital which allowed minimal anesthesia and breast feeding on demand rather than a rigid schedule of bottle feedings so popular at the time. As Cathy grew, she devoted much planning to arrangements for the care and education of her daughter, which Cathy came fully to appreciate only when she herself began to raise a daughter in the midst of a busy career.

Mead's arrangements were so successful because she inspired an astonishing devotion among her friends, who vied to share their time or their homes with her. One was the social worker Marie Eichelberger, who, during much of her long life, took care of Mead's financial affairs, babysat for Cathy, and even vacated her apartment when Mead wanted privacy for a rendezvous with a lover. After the Franks moved to Boston, Mead shared another household with her colleague from the Museum of Natural History, Rhoda Métraux and her son Daniel for nearly a quarter of a century, forming another quasi-family. (Mystifyingly, neither Rhoda nor Daniel Métraux were among those whom Howard interviewed for her book.) There were others as well, including Mead's early mentor, the anthropologist Ruth Benedict, with whom she had an affair for many years. Mead's lesbian relationships are touched on for the first time by both Jane Howard and Catherine Bateson, but not sketched in any detail, although there is evidence that the ties with Ruth Benedict, whom she first met as a student at Barnard, continued throughout her marriage.

The discovery of her mother's bisexuality, which she took care to conceal during her lifetime, came as something of a shock to Catherine Bateson going over Mead's papers after her death. She was distressed to find there was an aspect of her mother's life kept hidden from her, although such secretiveness was consistent with the way Mead hid other facets of herself from any one person. She had an extraordinary gift for friendship—for keeping old ones and constantly making new ones—which kept her immune from the loneliness she might otherwise have suffered from; but it came at the price of divided loyalties. In a touching letter, written in 1955 but never mailed, she apologizes for the fragmentation of her life:

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> I have become increasingly conscious [she wrote] of the extent to which my life is becoming segmented, each piece shared with a separate person, even where within the time and space of that segment, I feel that I am being myself, and my whole self in that particular relationship. Part of this is due to age; since Ruth Benedict died there is no one alive who had read everything that I have written; . . . a multitude of special relationships, collaborations, slight gaieties and partial intensities have taken the place of a marriage which once occupied so much of my time and attention. . . . It has not been by my choice of concealment that anyone of you have [sic] been left in ignorance of some part of my life which would seem, I know, of great importance. Nor has it been from lack of trust—in any person—on my part, but only from the exigencies of the mid-twentieth century when each of us—at least those of use who are my age—seems fated for a life which is no longer sharable. (CB, 115–16)

A relationship with such a mother necessarily entailed its own complexities, especially as Cathy grew older. With Gregory, whose interests were more distant from hers, the adult daughter could work as a "rapporteur" at one of his conferences and as an assistant of his last book, *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity.* (She also appears as a fictionalized "daugther" in his "metalogues.") With Margaret, to whom Cathy was closer and whose approach to anthropology more nearly approximated her own, she had to define herself more clearly by separation. As an adolescent, she chose to spend a year in Israel rather than return to the U.S. after a brief trip there with her mother. Later she came to study Arabic poetry and married an Armenian, living and studying in the Philippines and Iran—all areas her mother had never investigated. Less understandable is Catherine Bateson's offhand disclosure that she discouraged Margaret from stopping off in Beirut during her many travels to meet the parents of her son-in-law: why the elder Kassarjians apparently did not attend their son's wedding and why Catherine Bateson desired to keep the two families apart are never explained—a peculiarly odd omission in one whose professional goal is the promotion of intercultural understanding.

Catherine Bateson tends to see her parents in terms of polarities and contrasts: her mother's optimistic search for practical solutions to social problems versus her father's theoretical bent and skepticism about the efficacy of applied social science; her mother's celebration of the forms of her own culture versus her father's disaffection and alienation from them. In fact, in reading her account, one is equally impressed by the similarities between them. Not only did many of their

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concerns overlap but so did their respective followings, particularly among the young. (As teachers both were enormously popular, their classes thronged with hundreds of students.) Moreover, when they did contrast, America's grandmother, the "wise woman" of the national mainstream, went further afield in her rebellion against convention than Bateson, for all his reputation among the counterculture set. Thus Mead, while teaching a class of six hundred students at Yale University, made headlines by announcing that she was giving them all A's and B's, while Bateson, teaching at Santa Cruz at about the same time, was complaining to colleagues and even the Governor about the lack of academic rigor which had allowed his students to arrive at college so ill-prepared.[3] Then, too, it was Mead who felt that the subject of race and IQ was so politically dangerous that it should not be the subject of study at all, while Bateson demurred, arguing that "it went against any kind of reasonable scientific open-mindedness to assume for a species, such as the human species, with considerable variation in different populations all still capable of interbreeding, that among the different types of variation there were no cognitive differences" (CB, 139).

Although a longtime New Yorker, Margaret Mead seems to have succumbed to some extent to the California mindset. There was, for example, her close friendship with Jean Houston, a leader of the human potential movement who brought the art of psychobabble to a new high in her workshops in such things as "New Ways of Being" with their objectives of "yeasting the metastructures of society." (Her Foundation for Mind Research in Pomona, New York, which she ran with her husband, apparently included some painful physical manipulation *à la* Ida Rolfe, to judge from Jane Howard's vague description.) Mead was also interested in the paranormal. As early as 1942 she became a trustee of the American Society for Psychical Research. Later, and while president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, she lobbied for acceptance of parapsychology as a legitimate branch of science, much to the distress of some of her colleages. Some years later, when she was fatally ill with pancreatic cancer, she consulted a psychic healer who claimed to have "cured" the caner with her ministrations. Catherine Bateson charitably concludes that the laying on of hands did her mother no particular harm, since conventional medical treatment could not save her; but it is harder to be charitable when we learn how the healer, with cold-blooded prudence, made herself unavailable to her famous patient when Mead's illness moved toward its inevitable end.

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For its paradoxes as well for its accomplishments, than, Mead's life makes a story well wroth reading about, whatever the limitations of her biographers. Jane Howard has used commendable energy in collecting her material over the course of five years, interviewing some three hundred people who knew Mead. Unfortunately, the resultant biography reads like something which has gone from the tape recorder into the word processor without the intention of the human brain, for it is more a pastiche of quotations than a coherent narrative in the author's own voice. However fascinating are the individual pieces of information she has gathered, they are not assimilated into a unified portrait but rather dumped before the reader in an ill-digested mass. It is true that Howard undertook a subject who presents a daunting amount of material for any biographer in the length and variety of her career: the bibliography of Mead's writings alone is so long that her own daughter, an anthropologist, admits to having read no more than half of it. Still, this is all the more reason that her biographer should share some of Mead's professional interest, with some background in anthropology, which Howard so signally lacks. Margaret Mead was a popularizer and wrote to the general public, but anyone attempting her biography has an obligation to explain the significance of her career in the context of her discipline, as well as its larger meaning in American intellectual life. Thus, in large measure, Howard has failed to do in her bloated book, so full of unstructured gossip and anecdotes. (One aspect of Mead's professional life that Howard totally ignores is her involvement in the so-called "Thailand Affair," the controversy enveloping the American Anthropological Association in 1970–71 when some members of the profession were accused of doing clandestine Defense Department research. Mead, as chairman of a three-person ethics committee, gave a report to the annual convention that was booed by the delegates at a tumultuous meeting which was covered by the national press.)[4]

Moreover, despite the appearance of footnotes and bibliography at the end of her book, Howard's documentation is less than adequate, with many quotations simply unattributed. There is also a minor mystery about the Jean Houston material cited by Howard, which provides some of the most vividly revealing details of her account: how, when, and under what circumstances did Houston obtain the "hundreds of pages of transcribed conversations she had with Dr. Mead?" How did these pages also come to include excerpts from Mead's unpublished letters, quoted from in Howard's text?

By making no pretense to comprehensiveness, Catherine Bateson's

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tender memoir of both her parents succeeds better in what it attempts to do. Bateson is admittedly selective and personal in her discussion, but she has given much thought to the underlying pattern of her parents' lives. Indeed, the word "patterns" as well as the metaphors of creative pattern-making—whether weaving, mosaic, embroidery, sculpture, or painting—appear again and again throughout her book as she points out the similarities and differences between her mother and father. Both as scholars aimed to find patterns in the life around them; moreover, she sees her mother as creating a pattern in the nexus of relationships she formed and in the styles of life she exposed her daughter to.

In contrast to Howard's pedestrian style, Catherine Bateson's is imaginative and metaphoric. Of her lanky father, for example, she writes, "His feet indeed were distant colonies, far from his caring; as he grew older they lost feeling, so winter and summer he wore his shoes without socks." The author is especially good at conveying the wry tenderness with which her father treated wild creatures and children alike. Equally touching is her account of the death of her parents by cancer within two years of each other, which they faced with varying degrees of grace. Margaret, who had long lectured her own culture on the importance of accepting death as the natural part of the human cycle, found it less easy to confront her own, denying nearly to the day she died that her pancreatic cancer was in fact fatal.

It is unfortunate that Catherine Bateson is unable to sustain the level of eloquence she sometimes achieves; instead, too often, her prose is marked by triteness, jargon, and oracular murkiness. Straining for profundity, she can come up with platitudes ("Both my parents were inclined to see sex as a natural expression of intensity of relationship.") She is also prone to make wild generalizations—or rather, to allude to them in passing as self-evident facts (e.g., ". . . in the fifties, before women had rediscovered the friendship and support they owe each other . . ."). Female readers may wonder what they have been missing every month in hearing of "that lovely feeling of lightness that often comes two or three days into a menstrual period," while readers of both sexes may wonder why she feels that only *British* children are taught to be kind to animals "because of the temptation to cruelty."[5]

The lack of critical intelligence also mars at times Bateson's discussions of her mother's work, such as Margaret's diagram of complementarities of personality according to points of the compass, which appeared in *Blackberry Winter* and which her daughter reproduces with little further enlightenment. Although there may be some valid-

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ity to plotting the various cultures Mead studied into the four boxes according to the polarities of sex and temperament, the plan seems overly schematic and linguistically sloppy. What can one make of the opposition of the "caring" (Northern) and "careful" (Southern) temperaments, when the first term is taken to mean "caring for oneself to the exclusion of others—i.e., *un*caring—and the second one means "concerned for others"—i.e., caring? Margaret applied the chart to her own personal life with just the eagerness that others would find in astrological signs: the problem in her second marriage apparently was that Reo Fortune was a Northerner, while she and Gregory Bateson were Southerners.

About the controversy that exploded with the 1983 publication of Derek Freeman's book *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth,* Bateson has little to say except to dismiss Freeman as a nasty man trying to besmirch the memory of her mother. This is a pity, since Bateson has the necessary credentials to evaluate Freeman's criticisms, which all too frequently were ignored by anthropologists, who seemed bewildered and annoyed at the public furor Freeman's book had generated. Why all the fuss, when others had criticized aspects of Mead's Samoan writings before? Why should the public care about what was properly a matter to be discussed among specialists in the privacy of their own journals? A few noted huffily the lengths to which Harvard University Press had gone to publicize the book in sending advance copies to noted ethologists and flying the Australian author halfway around the world for talk-show interviews—something their publishers had never done for *them.* (One critic announced with virtuous indignation that he was glad that his 1958 doctoral dissertation, which reviewed Mead's Samoan research, was gathering dust unnoticed on library shelves if such works were to be treated in a sensational manner.)

Such anthropologists failed to realize that an attack on Margaret Mead was in itself newsworthy, since the woman had for decades been revered as an authority on nearly every social issue in America and her career was inextricably linked with the American social science establishment on whose behalf she worked so tirelessly for decades. Indeed, in some ways the controversy over Freeman's book resembles that other media event which occurred a few months later with Jeffrey Masson's attack on Freud in *The Assault on Truth.* In both cases the writers assailed the reputation of a venerable public figure, assuming the air of a brash Young turk (a bit odd in Freeman's case, since he had waited until he was elderly before publishing his book); side-issues

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and sexually repressive nature of the society. Far from being a more relaxed culture than America's, Samoan society, he claimed, had more than its share of frigidity and rape, the very idea of which Mead had claimed in her own book, was "completely foreign to the Samoan mind."

Since the publication of Freeman's book, much has been made of his selective treatment of the evidence and his adversarial stance which seemed more suited to a courtroom than a scholarly forum; many critics have pointed out the amount of time elapsed between the two studies and the fact that many of Freeman's statistics pertained to Western rather than Eastern Samoa, where Mead worked. Nevertheless, the case continues to raise disturbing questions about the nature of anthropology as an intellectual discipline. When one observer concludes that X is black and another studying the same phenomenon that X is white, it naturally calls into question the observers' claims to objectivity. Gregory Bateson, according to his daughter, struggled "to provide anthropology with a clear, taut framework of fundamental ideas that would make it truly a science"—a well-meaning but ultimately futile endeavor, given the inherent subjectivity of anthropology: however much they are couched in scholarly jargon or impersonal formulations, the observations themselves are inevitably shaped by the individuals' perceptions. As a result, anthropology, like other science sciences, is not entire immune to the vicissitudes of fashion, although debunking may go under the politer name of revisionism.

In the case of Margaret Mead, living as a young woman among her adolescent informants, it is obvious that she would have seen a different side of Samoa from that which the middle-aged Freeman saw while conferring with tribal chiefs. More significant, however, was Mead's tendency here and elsewhere to accent the positive aspect of the peoples she studies, at least in comparison with later observers. Her colleague Theodore Schwartz has claimed that she over-emphasized the rational, pragmatic nature of Manus in her book *New Lives for Old* and minimized the difficulties they had adapting to modern life. (She was unaware of a cargo cult existing there at the very time she was writing in 1953.)[6] In addition, her portrayal of the Mountain Arapesh of New Guinea in *Sex and Temperament* as gentle, nurturant people among whom warfare was "practically unknown" was disputed by her husband Reo Fortune, who saw them as being quite aggressive and published a 1939 paper on their warfare. Not only may Mead have perceived the people she studied as being more gentle than they actually were, but her very presence may have influenced their behavior, with the observed reacting to the observer. As Jane Howard has noted, even

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the unprepossessing Mundugumor people, whose dour ways she also chronicled in *Sex and Temperament,* postponed their quarrels until the anthropologists left.

Above all these factors, however, it was Mead's literary gifts, her very artistry, which led her to paint a more striking portrait than the individual facts might have warranted. To use her daughter's favorite metaphor, she was naturally apt to create distinctive patterns in her work in the form of generalizations whose power approached that of poetry. To be sure, in her professional writing, she could rattle off jargon with the best of her peers, aping the language of science (without necessarily appropriating its content) in brain-numbing prose. Yet, as a rule, being mealey-mouthed was rarely one of her failings. Instead it is amusing to read in her biography how uninhibited she was in expressing sentiments forbidden among anthropologists, who strive in their public writings to be neutral and open-minded about every culture. (She complains in one letter quoted by Howard that the Balinese among whom she is living are an "excessively dirty people, as unkempt as they are unforthcoming" and unduly preoccupied with scatology.)

But then, Margaret Mead was an atypical anthropologist, particularly in her energetic attempt to provide answers to society's problems and her optimistic belief in the perfectability of human institutions. All too often the result of anthropologists' work has been to foster doubt and hesitation. It is difficult to underestimate the shock of culture relativism that anthropology brought in its wake in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the discovery of cultures whose mores destroyed out best-loved assumptions about "human nature." Even if the Samoans Mead studied enjoyed a less idyllic sex life than the one she portrayed, and the individual temperaments proved less malleable to the shaping force of culture than she would have it, the point remains that anthropology, in exposing us to different cultural values, can lead to an inhibiting self-consciousness about the features of our own society; we are free to some degree of the blinders of ethnocentrism but at the risk of failure of nerve. (Why, for example, adhere to any particular religious tradition, after having surveyed a series of beliefs, each equally irrational and equally satisfactory for the people in question?) In a revealing anecdote, Catherine Bateson mentions how as a child she was taught to be so respectful of cultural diversity that she was unprepared to recognize genuine pathology when she came across it: when an exhibitionist displayed himself on a New York street, she was unsure how to respond and was shocked at her mother's indignation at his behavior.

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For Mead herself, there was no special paralysis; on the contrary, she was a tireless proponent of social and political reforms. The dilemma of deciding what in one's culture is worth preserving and what should be changed, which confronts anthropologists with a special urgency, presented no difficulty for her. As with any scholar who addresses a popular audience on issues of general concern, her activism entailed drawbacks well as rewards. If she achieved fame and the satisfaction that comes with the power to influence public opinion, it was at the price of a certain shallowness of vision, and the tendency to promote faddish half-truths. Subscribing to a more sophisticated form of the myth of progress, she could be quite nasty to those who failed to endorse her liberal *programme.* When in 1961 one colleague took issue with her letter to the American Anthropological Association *Newsletter* which implied that all anthropologists supported nuclear disarmament, she threatened to ruin his career if he did not retract his reply. On another occasion, in 1978, she attempted to get the novelist Shirley Hazzard to recant her bitter criticism of the United Nations on the grounds that such criticism, however justified, was "counterproductive."

If her political stance has now become passé, her anthropology seemed similarly old-fashioned during her lifetime, when the new glamour areas were linguistics and myth, both under the influence of Levi-Strauss and the French structuralists. Her own attempts at theorizing, such as the "swaddling hypthesis" she proposed with Geoffrey Gorer to explain Russian aggressiveness, were not notably successful. Even in her personal life Mead failed to live up to her optimistic ideology: America's expert on marriage had three failed unions to her credit, suggesting that she had once again underestimated the competitive spirit that wreaks such havoc in human affairs (including the marriage of professional colleagues.) Moreover, for all her glib preaching about accepting death as a part of life, her own impending demise so terrified her that she was unable to discuss it, even with those who were close to her.

Still, such failures to maker her life square with her professed principles only demonstrate that the human condition transcends any easy formulation we would make of it. If, like others before her, she found life more difficult to live than to write about, it is a humbling experience few of us are immune to. Mead was a woman of great gifts which included an enormous curiosity and a hunger for experience, and she became an anthropologist in the days when it took physical courage to risk one's life or health in the field. Inbued with the old-fashioned belief that scholarly writing should be graceful, she was able to grasp a

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culture and summarize its essence in prose accessible to the non-specialist, for she felt that anthropology had meaning for the lives of everyone. It remains to be seen whether the work of any of her successors will have as great an influence.

ANITA SUSAN GROSSMAN
Berkeley, Calif.

NOTES

1. *With a Daughter's Eye* by Mary Catherine Bateson (Morrow); Margaret *Mead: A Life* by Jane Howard (Simon and Schuster). Subsequent references to the Bateson book will use the abbreviation CB.
2. Lipset, *Gregory Bateson: The Legacy of a Scientist* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980), p. 278.
3. Howard, p. 336; Lipset, pp. 282, 288.
4. Mead's committee exonerated the four anthropologists who activities had been questioned, while cautioning the profession to take care that their data not be misused by the military. (They might need, for example, to disguise names or place or even delay publication.) On the other hand, the report noted that studies "under the heading of counterinsurgency" are "much the same activities that were called 'community development' at an earlier time" and that accepting such funding regardless of the labelling was "well within the traditional canons of acceptable behavior for the applied anthropologist." It was these last conclusions that Mead's peers found unacceptable. For details of this rather tangled affair, see the report on the meeting in the *Washington Post,* 22 Nov. 1971, p. 1 and the *New York Times,* 21 Nov. 1971, p. 79, as well as the issues of the American Anthropological Association *Newsletter* from June 1970 to February 1972.
5. On another occasion she supports Mead's conjecture that the reason for the low reported rate of premarital pregnancy in Samoa was that the young girls there were more attuned to the rhythms of their bodies than their American counterparts were, and so avoided coitus at dangerous times. After all, Bateson continues, "we know now that reproduction can largely be controlled through the 'ovulation method' that depends not on calendars and thermometers but on women's willingness to note variations in the texture of their own vaginal secretions . . ." (p. 90). Indeed.
6. Schwartz, "Anthropology: A Quaint Science," *American Anthropologist,* 85:4 (December 1983), 927–28.

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Books Received

Anderson, William. *Dante the Maker* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), $45, 497pp.

Barnard, Mary. *Assault on Mount Helicon: A Literary Memoir* (Univ. of California Press, 1984), $19.95, 329pp.

Bartlett, Donald and James B. Steele. *Empire: The Life, Legend, and Madness of Howard Hughes* (W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), $15.95, 680pp.

Bourne, Kenneth. *Palmerston: The Early Years* (Macmillan, 1982), $24.95, 749pp.

Bruccoli, Matthew J. *Ross MacDonald* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984), $7.95, 147pp.

Elliot, John and Richard Pickersgill. *Captain Cooke's Second Voyage* (Caliban Books, 1984), $19.95, 97pp.

Garnett, Angelica. *Deceived with Kindness: A Bloomsbury Childhood* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), $14.95, 181pp.

Greville, Fulke. *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1984), 255pp.

Jones, Howard Mumford. *Howard Mumford Jones: An Autobiography* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1980), $18.95, 293pp.

Kotre, John. *Outliving the Self: Generativity and the Interpretation of Lives* (The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), $20, 282pp.

Langer, Elinor. *Josephine Herbst: The Story She Could Never Tell* (Little, Brown, Inc., 1985), $19.95, 374pp.

Lebeaux, Richard. *Thoreau's Seasons* (Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1984), $28.50, 408pp.

McMullen, Lorraine. *An Odd Attempt in a Woman: The Literary Life in Frances Brooke* (Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1983), $29.95, 259pp.

Mochulsky, Konstantin. *Aleksandr Blok,* trans. Doris Johnson (Wayne State Univ. Press, 1984), $30, 446pp.

Parkinson, Sydney. *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in HMS Endeavor* (Caliban Press, 1984), $20, 214pp.

Pauly, Thomas H. *An American Oddysey: Elia Kazan and American Culture* (Temple Univ. Press, 1983), $12.95, 218pp.

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Slater, Ann, ed. and trans. *A Vanished Present: The Memoirs of Alexander Pasternak* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985), $17.95, 240pp.

Thomas, Jack R. *Biographical Dictionary of Latin American Historians and Historiography* (Greenwood Press, 1984), $49.95, 420pp.

Walker, Dorothy K. *Room, Path, and Walking Water* (Vantage Press, 1984), $8.95, 330pp.

Walker, Robert A. *Rainey of Illinois: A Political Biography, 1903–1934* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 1977), $12.50, 272pp.

CALL FOR PAPERS

April 11–13, 1986, a conference on
AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY: GENDER, TEXT AND CONTEXT

We solicit theoretical and experiential contributions on autobiographical and biographical texts by and about men and women. Historical, literary, psychological, ethnic and anthropological approaches will be welcome. All submissions, whether on text or context, should contain a gender component as an integral part of the analysis.

Please submit two- to three-page abstracts by
September 30, 1985, to:
Susan Groag Bell or Marilyn Yalom
Center for Research on Women
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305

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Notes on Contributors

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Marvin Marcus is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Chinese and Japanese, Washington University, St. Louis, MO 63130.

David Mayers has written on Sino-Soviet-US relations and currently is conducting research on George Kennan. Mr. Mayers teaches international politics at University of California, Santa Cruz 95064 where he is an assistant professor.

Marvin Rintala, Professor of Political Science at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02167, recently published *The Constitution of Silence: Essays on Generational Themes* (Greenwood Press).

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MICHAEL SLACKMAN

The Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey

In April *Biography*'s subscribers, contributors and reviewers were asked to list the best and worst biographies published in 1984. The survey is the first of what is intended to be a yearly event. While annual prizes are awarded in the field of biography, this effort is the first attempt to establish an evaluative ranking of biographies by a large cross section of readers, scholars, and writers. The purpose of the poll is to contribute to the development of clearer criteria for judging by example works of biography. By doing so we hope to contribute to the definition of the field of biographical study and encourage the writing of biographies which will meet those criteria.

The response to the first effort to elicit evaluations was less than overwhelming. Nevertheless, 63 works were cited. Of the 293 questionnaires mailed there were 36 responses. Of the 36 returns, 29 listed biographical works in the best and/or worst categories. Such a low rate of participation raises the question of whether an evaluative survey is needed or is worth the effort. The editors of *Biography* have concluded that, despite the low rate of return, in the future the field of biographical study would be well served by a continuation of the survey. First attempts at annual efforts such as this one are often marked by difficulty, but the potential for contributing to a definition of the field of biography outweighs the problems of establishing the survey on an annual basis. The survey will be conducted again next year for works published in 1985.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE SURVEY

Some of the difficulties of responding to a survey of this type are indicated by the comments of respondents who did not list any biographical works on the questionnaire. A sample:

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- "You assume that your subscribers, contributors, and book reviewers have read six or more biographies published in 1984. I haven't, nor is it likely that I'll do so."
- "I fear I can be of little assistance to you, having read so little in the way of biography in the past year."
- "A semester sabbatical abroad and a staggering number of departmental problems at home made *any* reading for pleasure impossible this year."
- "I wish I had time to read biographies. Generally the reviews are all I have time for. Sorry."

Donald J. Winslow feels that the survey is "an interesting idea", but notes:

> Readers of biography are perhaps even more dependent upon reviewers than are readers of novels. Even though the subject of biography is one I happen to be interested in, I am wary of reading it until I have read reviews, especially those in *TLS* or the *London Review* (British reviewers are generally more candid than American).

The pressure of time and dependence on reviews are cited by David Novarr, who writes, "I hope you have second thoughts about publishing an annual rank list, and that, instead, you'll use the lists submitted as a guide for reviewing interesting books." Terrance L. Lewis writes that the poll is "a very good idea", but laments that it has been impossible to keep abreast of current biographies. He suggests that the survey be conducted at the end of summer, when respondents will have had time to read more of that year's crop of biographies. The editors are giving serious consideration to Mr. Lewis's suggestion.

Leon Edel objects to categorizing biographies as "worst." He suggests, instead, the terms "flawed", "inadequate", or "lesser" works. The editors concur, and future surveys will use a term other than "worst."

Results of the Survey

Returned questionnaires listed a total of 63 biographies published in 1984, 14 in the "worst" category and 50 in the "best" category (one book was cited in both categories by different respondents). An additional six biographies with publication dates other than 1984 (all "best") were named.

Of the sixty-three 1984 titles seven were mentioned as "best" on two questionnaires. Three biographies were listed among the "worst"

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of 1984 by two reviewers. One of those cited twice as "best" was also relegated to the "worst" category by another respondent.

BEST BIOGRAPHIES AND COMMENTS

Ackroyd, Peter. *T. S. Eliot: A Life.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984. (listed twice)

"A careful significant biography demonstrating how much can be done even when the heirs refuse permission to quote from the materials."

Adams, Tom. *Young Tom, Old Tom.* Portola Valley, CA: American Lives Endowment, 1984.

Annan, Noel G. *Leslie Stephen: His Thought and Character in Relation to His Time.* New York: Random House, 1984.

"First published in England, in 1951, Lord Annan has updated and revised his account of an eminent Victorian, the father of Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell and himself one of the solid and perceptive writers of the last century. A model biography, humane and demonstrating what biography can do to reconstruct a man and an era (and a significant progenitor of modern era as well)."

Bateson, Mary Catherine. *With a Daughter's Eye: A Memoir of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson.* New York: William Morrow, 1984.

Bergen, Candice. *Knock Wood.* New York: Linden, 1984.

"A *fine* book."

Blotner, Joseph. *Faulkner: A Biography.* New York: Random House, 1984.

Brady, Frank. *James Boswell: The Later Years, 1769–1795.* New York: McGraw-Hill. (listed twice)

"Comprehensive, detailed, and very reliable summary of what is known about Boswell's years when he wrote his biography of Johnson. Especially good in the account of the relation of biographer to subject."

Bogan, Louise. *A Portrait of Elizabeth Frank.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Brendan, Piers. *Winston Churchill.* New York: Harper-Row, 1984.

"A nice, popular biography, which shows how good one can be, although there are many minor errors. This reviewer may have been

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drawn to this work because it is so much better than William Manchester's work *(The Last Lion)* and Martin Gilbert's *(Churchill: The Wilderness Years),* and so much more redable than the last volume of Gilbert's latest volume of *Winston S. Churchill.*"

Buel, Joy Day and Richard Buel, Jr. *The Way of Duty: A Woman and Her Family in Revolutionary America.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1984.

"This is the *best* biography of the year, in my estimation."

Cheever, Susan. *Home Before Dark: A Biographical Memoir of John Cheever.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

Collins, Peter and David Horowitz. *The Kennedys: An American Drama.* New York: Summit Books, 1984.

Creamer, Robert W. *Stengel: His Life and Times.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.

Dawson, Fielding. *Tiger Lilies: An American Childhood.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1984.

de Beauvoir, Simone. *Adieux: A Farwell to Sartre.* New York: Pantheon, 1984.

Elledge, Scott. *E. B. White: A Biography.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Feinstein, Howard M. *Becoming William James.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. (listed twice)

Frank, Elizabeth. *Louise Bogan: A Portrait.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Griffith, Elisabeth. *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

"A balanced account of a mother of 11 children who was perhaps the most important suffragist and feminist of the 19th century."

Hellman, John. *Simone Weil.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.

Highill, Philip H. Jr., et. al. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800.* Vols. 9–10. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984.

"An awesome reference work continues. We're up to Nash now and eagerly await more."

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Howard, Jane. *Margaret Mead: A Life.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.

La Coutre, Jean. *De Gaulle,* I. Paris: Seuil, 1984.

Langer, Elinor. *Josephine Herbst: The Story She Could Never Tell.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

"Almost novelistic, highly subjective narration, daring injection of writer into the narrative. Compassionate, hard-headed at once; impressive research, elegantly written, powerful. Attempt to discover a highly private woman beyond the public work."

Longsworth, Polly. *Austin and Mabel: The Amherst Love Affair and the Letters of Austin Dickinson and Mabel Loomis Todd.* New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1984.

Marius, Richard. *Thomas More: A Biography.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

Mellow, James R. *Invented Lives: The Marriage of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

"An original attempt to depict the fantasies by which Scott and Zelda fashioned their lives which duplicates earlier accounts and while well-written fails to grasp the psychology of the *folie à deux* involved. An example of a fine biographical idea that failed for want of adequate psychological grasp of a very psychological subject by a very skilled writer."

Munro, Craig. *Wild Man of Letters: The Life of P. R. Stephenson.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Mott, Michael. *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

"Reasonably calm antihagiographical treatment of one of the great Christians of our century."

Nay, Catherine. *Le Noir et le Rouge.* Paris: Grosset, 1984.

Pawel, Ernst. *The Nightmare of Reason: A Life of Franz Kafka.* New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1984.

Pons, Xavier. *Out of Eden: Henry Lawson's Life and Works: A Psychoanalytic View.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1984.

Pritchard, William H. *Frost: A Literary Life Reconsidered.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Pryce-Jones, David. *Cyril Connolly: Journal and Memoir.* New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1984.

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Pym, Barbara. *A Very Private Eye: An Autobiography in Diaries and Letters,* edited by Hazel Holt and Hilary Holt. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984.

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"About as good a life of a living writer as can be written, showing how oppression of writers can be fought in the USSR even though it is mostly a losing battle: and depicting the virtues and weaknesses of the subject in his handling of State control of literature. Written with strong command of complex materials."

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"If the last is autobiography and not biography, as a third biography I would select Anatol Goldberg, *Ilya Ehrenburg: revolutionary, novelist, poet, war correspondent, propagandist: The extraordinary epic of a Russian survivor.* Makes the reader understand how Ehrenburg survived in an era of Stalinist conformity."

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"Not only is this the best biography I have read that was published in 1984, but it is the best of recent years. Thoroughly researched, scholarly, *Edmund Gosse* is not only an objective, yet sympathetic, life of a controversial figure, but it is a remarkable survey of the literary scene in England in the late Victorian, the Edwardian, and the modern periods."

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Welty, Eudora. *One Writer's Beginnings.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1984. (listed twice)

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"Not a major work, based on a series of lectures at Harvard, but an interesting and appealing personal account. I think it has been overrated in reviews, but it is a good book, beautifully written."

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Silverman, Kenneth. *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather.* New York: Harper and Row, 1984. (listed "best" twice, "worst" once)

"It received the Pulitzer Prize. I began reading the book; I will never finish it."

West, Anthony. *H. G. Wells: Aspects of a life* (New York: Random House, 1984).

"Much too superficial in its account of Wells, and especially superficial in recounting the relationship between Wells and his son and biographer (Anthony West)." (listed "best" once, "worst" once)

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HONOLULU, HAWAII

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Dan P. McAdams

Fantasy and Reality in the Death of Yukio Mishima

> By the time the lieutenant had at last drawn the sword across to the right side of his stomach, the blade was already cutting shallow and had revealed its naked tip, slippery with blood and grease. But, suddenly stricken by a fit of vomiting, the lieutenant cried out hoarsely. The vomiting made the fierce pain fiercer still, and the stomach, which had thus far remained firm and compact, now abruptly heaved, opening wide its wound, and the entrails burst through, as if the wound too were vomiting. Seemingly ignorant of their master's suffering, the entrails gave an impression of robust health and almost disagreeable vitality as they slipped smoothly out and spilled over into the crotch. The lieutenant's head drooped, his shoulders heaved, his eyes opened to narrow slits, and a thin trickle of saliva dribbled from his mouth. The gold markings on his epaulettes caught the light and glinted . . .
>
> Blood was scattered everywhere. The lieutenant was soaked in it to his knees, and he sat now in a crumpled and listless posture, one hand on the floor. A raw smell filled the room. The lieutenant, his head drooping, retched repeatedly, and the movement showed vividly in his shoulders. The blade of the sword, now pushed back by the entrails and exposed to its tip, was still in the lieutenant's right hand . . .
>
> It would be difficult to imagine a more heroic sight than that of the lieutenant at this moment, as he mustered his strength and flung back his head.[1]

In the autumn of 1960, Yukio Mishima penned this account of the Japanese *samurai* rite of *seppuku*. The short story "Patriotism" describes in detail the heroic double suicide of Lieutenant Shinji

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Takeyama and his lovely bride Reiko. Spurred by the knowledge that the lieutenant was to be implicated in an unsavory political plot, the newlyweds perform the quintessential act of patriotism, leaving as their only legacy the farewell note: "Long live the Imperial Forces." Indeed the "last moments of this heroic and dedicated couple were such as to make the gods themselves weep."[2]

Ten years after Yukio Mishima finished "Patriotism," he ceremoniously disemboweled himself in General Kanetoshi Mashita's office after addressing the Jieitai soldiers from the balcony at Eastern Army Headquarters in Tokyo. On November 25, 1970, Mishima and four compatriots in his private right-wing army overpowered General Mashita and a group of army personnel with their *samurai* swords in order to stage a public exhortation to Japanese patriotism and the defense of the Emperor. After making a short speech to a hooting crowd of infantrymen, Mishima with his group retired to a back office to enact the gruesome ritual which had been rehearsed by the five for several weeks. Mishima shouted a last salute to the Emperor and then plunged the dagger deep into his own stomach. His right-hand man, Morita, whom some have suspected was Mishima's homosexual lover, then joined his master in double suicide, as the three remaining students wept and chanted a Buddhist prayer.

Since the early 1950's, ritual suicide revealed itself again and again in Mishima's writing to be a central element in a macabre constellation of themes including beauty, blood, passion, night, hero worship, homosexuality, and glorious death. The same elements prevail in the childhood and adolescent fantasies the author reports in his autobiographical novel *Confessions of a Mask.* Mishima, furthermore, acted out many of these themes in Japanese motion pictures, and he experienced their enactment vicariously as a director of modern drama. Tied to a tree trunk, arrows piercing his naked body, Mishima even posed for a leading Japanese photographer as the bleeding martyr Saint Sebastian. (A similar portrait of the dying saint had inspired his first ejaculation.)[3] In other photographs, he wore but a tiny loincloth, his splendidly muscled body glimmering with sweat and the cold, steel *samurai* sword leaning loyally at his side, as if waiting for the inevitable command to sear open the taut but tender flesh of its bearer.

Such is a sample of Mishima's bizarre fantasy life. The weak and eroding dam separating the waters of fantasy from the waters of reality collapsed on November 25, 1970, and the opponent waters, separated so precariously for over four decades, rushed together with a cataclysmic explosion. Within seconds, the two waters became one, and when

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the momentary chaos of intercourse had passed, what remained was a solitary sea—cold, still, at peace.

Who can understand Yukio Mishima? Who can make sense of a life so rich and yet so tragic, of a psyche so complex and yet so single-minded? Mishima is considered by some to be the greatest Japanese novelist of all time. His triumphant tetrology, *The Sea of Fertility,* is a panoramic vision of Japan in the twentieth century. Spanning eighty years from the early Taisho period to the 1960's, the four books comprising this set are brilliant evocations of a fascinating culture only superficially understood in the West. Mishima wrote over one hundred full length books which have recently been combined into a thirty-six volume set.

But Mishima was much more than a novelist. He was a playwright, a sportsman, a film actor, the founder of a private army, a family man, and a world traveler. One biographer has characterized him as the "Leanardo da Vinci of modern Japan."[4] The first to take on the challenge of systematically imposing some kind of order upon his crowded life was Mishima himself. Shortly before he killed himself, Mishima organized an exhibition devoted to his life, displayed at the Tobu department store in Tokyo. In an introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition, he wrote that he saw his life as being divided into four rivers—Writing, Theater, Body, and Action, all finally flowing into the Sea of Fertility. But Writing and Theater were never able, in Mishima's eyes, to transform him into the tragic hero of his fantasies. Rather, as the psychological analysis offered in this paper will show, it was the inevitable confluence of the River of Body and the River of Action that united fantasy and reality as the blade cut.

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword

Ruth Benedict has identified an essential dualism in Japanese culture in her delineation of the "chrysanthemum" and the "sword"—two antithetical themes that have been held in tension throughout much of the history of this island-state.[5] The chrysanthemum theme refers to the traditional Japanese preoccupation with beauty, color, and aesthetics. Modern manifestations of this influence abound in the elegant Japanese flower gardens, the still polite and very delicate lines in Japanese architecture, and Japanese mores and customs which remain courtly and refined even today. The emphasis is upon style, grace, propriety, charm, and gentility. A kind of feminine principle reigns, the roots of which go back at least as far as the courtly life of Heian Japan (9th–12th centuries). The spirit of the Heian era is documented

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magnificently in Lady Murasaki's eleventh-century classic *The Tale of Genji.* Frivolous and vacuous, the courtly life is filled with secret trysts, court intrigue, and petty wars between the sexes.

The culture of the Heian period flourished within a political framework that was decentralized and non-militaristic. The eventual rise of the spirit of the sword ultimately generated a more centralized system in which political power was monopolized by the militaristic shoguns. Within the emerging feudal society, the aristocratic fighting man on horseback became an ideal; unequivocal loyalty to one lord above all else served as his oath. The *samurai* ethic—*bushido* or the way of the warrior—proclaimed the values of personal asceticism, the glory of death in righteous battle, and the honor of *seppuku,* commonly called *harakiri,* which is suicide by the painful method of cutting open one's abdomen.[6] In contrast to the chrysanthemum, the orientation of the sword was decidedly masculine.

For Mishima, the chrysanthemum and the sword represented discordant elements in his own life. He identified his own writing (The River of Writing) as a daughter of the Feminine chrysanthemum. The struggle between the influence of the chrysanthemum and the influence of the sword is poignantly depicted in Mishima's 1956 novel *Temple of the Golden Pavillion.* For the protagonist of the story, a Buddhist acolyte named Mizoguchi, the Golden Temple embodies the essence of eternal beauty—an immutable and abstract beauty that protects man but smothers him, as well, by insulating him from life. Beauty's stultifying effect blocks Mizoguchi's attempts to experience life with any intensity or meaning. On two occasions the vision of the Golden Temple grinds to a halt a possible sexual encounter. The second time the beauty of the woman's naked breast becomes too powerful as it transfigures itself in Mizoguchi's eyes into the Golden Temple. Finally, Mizoguchi resolves to burn down the Temple and liberate himself from its emasculating grip. As the Temple blazes, the proud acolyte leans back to enjoy a cigarette. The novel closes with the suggestion of satisfaction and affirmation: "I felt like a man who settles down for a smoke after finishing a job of work. I wanted to live."[7]

Like the abstract beauty of the Temple, the words that waltzed on the pages of Yukio Mishima's novels and short stories threatened to separate their creator from "the instantaneous existence that life lets us glimpse."[8] Mishima ultimately rejected the chrysanthemum, arguing in one of his last pieces that words were by nature "corrosive."[9] Like a cancer, they ate away the flesh of human existence, leaving but an emaciated skeleton that could at best merely dream of glory. Salva-

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tion lay in the glorification of the body and the utilization of the sword in the act of destruction.

Early Family Life

The most powerful agent shaping the early years of Yukio Mishima's life may have been his grandmother, Natsu. Natsu Nogai was a brilliant, cultured, selfish, and highly unstable woman whose grandfather was a *daimyo* (lord of a fief) related by marriage to the Tokugawa, the ruling family of Japan from about 1600 to 1868. Her husband, Jotaro Hiraoka, was a common man, a Walter Mitty character in a life of perennial failure, who was "absolutely unsuited for the management of a household—but an extraordinary gallant."[10] Mishima describes Natsu as "narrow-minded," "indomitable," and of a "wildly poetic spirit."[11] She suffered from a chronic case of cranial neuralgia.

Natsu's only son, Azusa, married Shizue Hachi, and she gave birth to her first son, Kimitake Hiraoka (pen name: Yukio Mishima) on January 14, 1925. On Kimitake's fiftieth day of life, Natsu took the infant from his mother and proceeded to incarcerate him in her darkened sickroom for the next twelve years. In his infancy, Shizue was permitted to nurse the boy once every four hours according to Natsu's rigid schedule. When Kimitake had had enough milk, Natsu promptly snatched him up and carried him back to her sickroom. In the ensuing years of childhood, Kimitake sometimes met his mother on secret rendezvous escaping ephemerally the sickroom and Natsu's watchful eye.

It appears that the relationship between Natsu and her grandson was one of extreme ambivalence for Kimitake. Natsu believed that boys were dangerous playmates so the only friends she permitted Kimitake were three older girls she carefully selected from among his cousins. Because loud sound aggravated Natsu's neuralgia, it was imperative that the young Kimitake make as little noise as possible in his play. Despite the fact that his grandmother controlled virtually his every move with an iron hand, Kimitake seemed to develop a kind of affection for the woman, and one of his brothers remembers Mishima at eleven and twelve excitedly retelling her tales.[12] But there is one aspect of Kimitake's relationship with his grandmother that is surely traumatic. Natsu insisted that Kimitake give her her medicine and accompany her to the toilet when her neuralgia was complicated by stomach ulcers and a kidney disease. Sometimes her pain was so extreme that she would tear her hair and scream for Kimitake's comfort. One biographer reports that, on one of these occasions, she seized a knife and held it to her throat.[13]

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There is little material available concerning the relationship that the young Kimitake may have formed with his father, Azusa. Perhaps, the tone of the relationship, however, is captured in a quote from the father concerning his philosophy of child rearing: "A parent has to apply pressure. You squeeze and you squeeze, and any child that collapses is better off dead."[14]

Even less is known about Kimitake's early relations with his younger brother and sister. Nathan reports that he had little chance to interact with his siblings before his emancipation from his grandmother's rule at the age of twelve. Even in adolescence, Kimitake spent most of his waking hours in his room reading and writing. One sibling reports that he never knew his brother very well and that he and his sister had always considered Kimitake as a kind of guest in the house.[15]

Kimitake's early loneliness is probably most evident in accounts of his first six years in elementary school. A myriad of factors estranged the young boy from his peers, the most notable including his lower socioeconomic status, his recurrent illnesses, his frail physique, Natsu's restrictions upon his diet and the courses he could take, and his debilitating shyness. But Kimitake's major problem was that he had no notion of the appropriate way to behave with boys. The sedentary incarceration in Natsu's sickroom had hardly prepared him for the rough and tumble play of the pre-pubertal boy. Kimitake's placid play with his three cousins may have nurtured the growth of the gentle chrysanthemum within him, but the sword found no expression except in his fantasy.

From a cursory sketch of a few events in the early years of Kimitake Hiraoka's life, therefore, some themes that were to characterize the making of the personality of Yukio Mishima begin to emerge. From the fiftieth day of life on, Kimitake's behavior is to be controlled in virtually every detail by an omnipotent force from the outside. Spontaneity is squelched at every juncture; cycles of sleep, eating, and play are regulated with the utmost precision; and little time is parceled out for free exploration of any environment transcending the bleak walls of Natsu's sickroom. It is doubtful that anything resembling a secure bond with a mothering one is engendered. Except in feeding, the infant Kimitake receives little human contact of any kind. Natsu is not one to cuddle a child; her persistent neuralgia and hysterical disposition prevent her from filling in the vacuum of nurturance created by the dismissal of the natural mother.

At school, Kimitake the child learns quickly that he is different

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from everybody else. Peer rejection exacerbates the problem of loneliness. From the perspective of American psychiatrist H. S. Sullivan, Kimitake cannot propel himself out of the web of loneliness into intimacy with a *chum.*[16] He does not know how to behave with boys and, therefore, never affirms, in the collaborative chumship of preadolescence, an essential similarity with another member of the same sex.

The real world affords little happiness for the young Kimitake. Offers of love are not reciprocated: His mother feeds him and then she is suddenly gone. The young child quickly learns that his love is not wanted so he no longer offers it. Indeed, little emotion is invested in any object or situation in the real world. A bulwark of defenses shields the child from the capricious and unfriendly forces of the outside. Azusa, in fact, relates one incident in which he sadistically picked up Kimitake as a young child and thrust him directly in front of a roaring locomotive, threatening to throw him into a ditch if he cried. But Kimitake amazingly evinced no reaction whatsoever. Azusa claims that the young boy's face remained a "No mask," oblivious.[17]

In the words of the British psychologist W. R. D. Fairbairn, young Mishima is the budding *schizoid* personality who can remain virtually impervious to the happenings in the world around him.[18] Libido is withdrawn from all external objects as Kimitake turns inward to fantasy.

Childhood Fantasy

Mishima's elaborate and macabre childhood fantasies are documented in the author's first autobiographical piece, *Confessions of a Mask* (1948). The book opens with a key statement: "For many years I could remember things seen at the time of my own birth."[19] The author later concedes the impossibility of ever really remembering one's own birth, but the fact that the young Mishima produced and perpetuated such a myth remains significant. Theory and research on infancy tell us that for the baby at birth there is essentially no differentiation made between the world and the self. In the first weeks of life, the infant is not aware that there exists anything but the "me." Freud termed this feeling of oneness and omnipotence the "oceanic feeling,"[20] claiming that humans seek to recapture this infantile experience in the illusion of religion. According to Mishima's life myth, however, Kimitake is, from the minute of birth onward, a separate entity that perceives himself and the outside world, and perceives the two as two. The myth is one of immediate isolation from one's environment—a cool detachment from, and lack of communication with, the surrounding field.

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Furthermore, the myth hints at a painful self-conciousness that is to haunt the protagonist repeatedly in the ensuing pages. Add an intense preoccupation with self in contradistinction to reality and the first sentence begins to paint the portrait of a narcissistic and highly introspective figure existing in sharp contrast to a world with which he has no relation.

In *Confessions,* Mishima writes that four early memories stand out in his childhood years: the night-soil man, the Joan of Arc picture book, the odor of sweat, and the carrying of the shrine. Each was to be played out over and over again in subsequent fantasy, the images taking on meaning anew with each imaginary restaging, "tormenting and frightening me all my life."[21] The images were later to appear with great regularity in his writing, shaping an aesthetic of blood and death that finally motivated and justified Mishima's own self-destruction.

The first memory dates from about the age of four. On his way home for supper, Kimitake observes a young man busily carrying buckets of excrement, on his nightly rounds:

> Looking up at the dirty youth, I was choked by desire, thinking, "I want to change into him," thinking, "I want to *be* him." I can remember clearly that my desire had two focal points. The first was his dark blue "thigh-pullers," the other his occupation. The close-fitting jeans plainly outlined the lower half of his body, which moved lithely and seemed to be walking toward me. An inexpressible adoration for those trousers was born in me.
>
> . . . toward his occupation I felt something like a yearning for a piercing sorrow, a body-wrenching sorrow. His occupation gave me the feeling of "tragedy" in the most sensuous meaning of the word. A certain feeling as it were of "self-renunciation," a certain feeling of indifference, a certain feeling of intimacy with danger, a feeling like a remarkable mixture of nothingness and vital power—all these feelings swarmed forth from his calling, bore down on me, and took me captive, at the age of four.[22]

Several dominant themes emerge for the first time in the vision of the night-soil man: hints of latent homosexuality, fascination with darkness and the night, a sensuous desire for tragedy and the "piercing sorrow" of tragic lives, and a preoccupation with dirt and the earth symbolically rooted in anality. Kimitake's inherent confusion in object relations is reflected in his sensuous feelings for a figure who he longs to *be.* For the solitary child who has never ventured successfully into the world of object relations before, there appears a deep and profoundly troubling confusion over the distinction between what Freud

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termed *object cathexis* (the desire to *have* the other) and *identification* (the desire to *be* the other).

The themes of latent homosexuality and fascination with the tragic are elaborated further in the Joan of Arc episode, also traced back to the age of four. Kimitake is enthralled with a certain page of a picture book upon which is majestically portrayed a mounted knight about to do battle with death. Kimitake longs to see the knight killed, and thus the theme of the tragic life first connected with excrement and hard labor of the earth is extended to more overtly heroic proportions in the personification of the fated knight about to die. In Mishima's symbology, excrement and the earth may signify decay and death. Kimitake's mounted knight is the same night-soil man in a different guise. In both instances the hero grapples intimately with the dark forces of Death. Mishima reports, however, that the image of his mounted hero is tarnished when he learns that "he" is Joan of Arc—a woman. The realization virtually devastates him ("I felt as though I had been knocked flat."[23]), and he refuses to look at the book again.

The Joan of Arc fantasy is especially interesting in that it speaks to Mishima's developing homosexuality. Throughout his life, Mishima refused to admit to the existence of heroism or honor in the female principle (the chrysanthemum), the fact of which is instrumental in his blocking virtually any libidinal investment in a woman. In fact, there is some evidence that Mishima was unable to feel real sexual excitement in the presence of a woman. In *Confessions,* he tells the story of his miserable attempt at a love relationship with the beautiful Sonoko. Although his marriage of thirteen years was not an unhappy one for either Mishima or his wife Yoko (the two even produced two children), the arrangement seems to have been more a result of the social demands of a literary gallant than any kind of real libidinal investment. In 1956, Mishima decided that his social life demanded he find a wife—and fast. With the spirit he always revealed in the undertaking of any kind of new project, he began to look for a suitable mate.

Mishima deplored effeminancy in both men and women. His love objects in fantasy were brutal, strapping men of the sword. The *samurai* code of the sword, in fact, traditionally allowed for homosexuality among warriors. There was no contradiction between the glorification of the warrior ethic and the practice of soldiers loving other soldiers sexually.[24] Even Reiko—the heroic wife in "Patriotism" who commits suicide along with her newlywed husband—establishes herself as a heroine by way of *bushido*—the masculine spirit of the sword dictating categorical devotion to one's master ultimately endorsed though self-

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annihilation. Moreover, the continual shame Mishima felt in the knowledge of his own rather effeminate body and manner plagued him for over thirty years until a rigorous exercise program transformed him into a muscle man. His extreme reaction against the Joan of Arc picture, regardless of whether the documented reaction of the four-year-old Kimitake is accurate or whether it is rather Mishima's later response superimposed upon a childhood vignette, may reflect a terrifying realization of his own underlying allegiance to the chrysanthemum and a desperate attempt to defend against its emasculating effects and ultimately to rid himself of it completely.

The third memory is one of the odor of soldiers' sweat that Kimitake oftentimes smelled as a child when the troops passed by the gate of his home. The smell "awakened my longings, overpowered me."[25] Again it appears that the tragic calling of the soldier intoxicates Kimitake. The smell is the pungent aroma of death, like the excrement of the night-soil man, always beckoning the hero towards destruction, towards a tragic reunion with earth.

The fourth memory of Mishima's childhood shows a further development in the evolution of the hero image, early manifestations taking the form of the night-soil man, the mounted knight, and the sweaty soldiers. All four versions wrestle daily with death. All converge on an evolving internalized and ideal love-object/role-model. The fourth version is embodied in a group of strapping young men parading in celebration of the Summer Festival through the streets of Tokyo, bearing a black shrine called the *omikoshi.* At this time, Kimitake and his grandmother are watching from the front gate of the house. The practically naked young men in the frenzied procession swagger *en masse* towards the gate. The shrine they carry appears as a "perfect cube of empty night, ceaselessly swaying and leaping, to and fro, up and down" while "reigning over the cloudless noonday of early summer."[26] Suddenly the swarm of men burst through the gate as Kimitake and Natsu scurry to safety. The intoxicated youths wantonly destroy the foliage of the beautiful garden while parading the shrine over every inch of the Hiraoka front yard. Kimitake perceives their faces and is both horrified and thrilled: "There was the expression on the faces of the young men carrying the shrine—an expression of the most undisguised drunkenness in the world."[27]

Again, if we accept Mishima's account as fact or even if we believe it to be a somewhat hyperbolic interpretation of a childhood episode, the frenzied youths who destroy the flower garden (chrysanthemums?) are the real-life forerunners of Mizoguchi, the fictional acolyte who incin-

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erates the Golden Temple and with it its life-effacing beauty. The youth embody the spirit of the sword, and their shameless act of destruction is a prototype of the un-selfconscious experience—the pure *act*—flowing from the River of Action. The black shrine is symbolic of death: The youths unabashedly parade it through the streets!

The memory of this childhood event so preoccupied the fantasy life of the young Mishima that he claimed it "represented childhood itself, past and irrevocable."[28] On August 10, 1956, at the age of thirty-one, Mishima in fact translated this fantasy into real life when he donned a loincloth, cotton belly band, snug white trousers, festival jacket, and uniform headband to participate with the young men from the Jiyugaoka merchants' association in the parading of the portable shrine of the *mikoshi.* In an ecstatic essay written the next day, "On Intoxication," Mishima proclaimed that he had beheld the same "divine blue sky" the others had beheld, and that he had become one both with the group and the *mikoshi,* all "drowned in life." At that moment, he would later write, "I participated in the tragedy of all being."[29]

Adolescence

The morbid themes of Kimitake's fantasies, nurtured in the fetid atmosphere of Natsu's sickroom, found an almost equally generative climate in the socio-political environment of World War II Japan. Hence, when Kimitake finally emerged from his grandmother's cave in 1937, there awaited him a cultural milieu caught up in the horror, the conquest, and the blood of a Pacific war. The effect the war years may have had upon Mishima, however, is a complex one. Although the war provided food for his insatiable fantasy life, it did not transform Mishima into a self-avowed disciple of the sword. In fact, Mishima never became a soldier of the war. Drafted into the service in 1945, Mishima proceeded to mislead, intentionally, the army doctors into reading his relatively minor bronchitis as manifestations of advanced pneumonia. Consequently, he was not inducted.

During the war years, Mishima the adolescent tries desperately to develop some distance on fantasy and to live for the first time in-the-world. A tension exists between the budding realization that he is fundamentally different from all his peers and the desperate desire to be the same. The differences become apparent in many aspects of his life at school. Mishima began to establish himself as the premier writer at the Peer School, while his colleagues settled into mediocrity. He remained sickly and emotionally withdrawn while his male compatriots proved themselves outgoing and robust in both work and play.

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And he was not aroused by the opposite sex whereas his male peers could think of nothing else.

The similarities were not so easily discerned for the young Mishima. He was encouraged when he finally learned that all of the other boys regularly masturbated, too. Here was a point where he was completely identical with them. But, as he writes in *Confessions,* "in my state of autohypnosis I overlooked the fact that, in spite of the identical nature of the physical action, there was a profound difference so far as its mental objects were concerned."[30] The other boys masturbated with images of naked women in mind. Mishima envisioned St. Sebastian!

In Chapter 3 of *Confessions,* Mishima tells the story of the contortions and convolutions he undergoes in an attempt to discover sameness. In the stage play that is adolescence, he continues to audition for and then abandon role after role in order to identify himself with the other characters in the drama. The adolescent in *Confessions* even goes so far as to read a host of books—both fiction and non-fiction—with the express purpose of finding appropriate roles to play, usual reponses to make, the normal way to live as a teenager. Behind the wild sampling of alternative roles, the adolescent-as-actor searches for a unifying principle that gives meaning to the diverse roles he plays, that unites them to provide continuity of self from situation to situation and over time. This identity problem is epitomized in the futile attempts of the hero in *Confessions* to muster up sexual desire for the lovely Sonoko.

The interpersonal theory of H. S. Sullivan is critical to an understanding of the profundity of Mishima's loneliness as an adolescent. Sullivan's theory bespeaks three fundamental dialectics which in general fashion organize the interpersonal experiences of the individual throughout the life cycle.[31] Each can be seen as a general dynamism, or recurrent pattern of energy transformation. The three can be illustrated as follows:

Anxiety	Loneliness	Lust Dissociation
↑	↕	↕
Security	Intimacy	Lust Integration

The first dynamism to arise in development is the anxiety-security polarity. Sullivan's theorem of reciprocal emotion maintains that anxiety is transmitted from the mother to the baby through the process of empathy. This interpersonal tension is experienced as unpleasant, eventually leading to the formation of the *self-system* which is an orga-

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nization of experience for avoiding anxiety connected with the mothering one.[32] In Mishima's case, we may hypothesize that in the very peculiar feeding situation he experiences as an infant, a profound and consistent anxiety is transmitted from Shizue to her kidnapped son. In a Sullivanian framework, therefore, Kimitake's elaborate fantasy life is the functional equivalent of the self-system in so far that it reduces the anxiety connected with the interaction with the mothering ones—both Shizue and Natsu. In a sense, the young Kimitake opts out of the anxiety-security dynamism through escape to reverie. Anxiety is avoided, but interpersonal security is sacrificed as well. The substitution of an absorbing fantasy life for the self-system precludes the development of any kind of "organization of experience," and renders the child, without a personification of self, virtually helpless in interpersonal relations.

As emphasis is shifted to the second dynamism, the child eventually finds the phenomenological experience of loneliness so terrifying that he propels himself out of the self-system, at the risk of extreme anxiety, into a series of risk-taking ventures designed to attain intimacy. The fear of loneliness reaches its peak in the pre-adolescent period in which it becomes imperative that the child form a close chumship with a member of the same sex. It is essential that the chum be as much like the child as possible, and that the two share their every secret in an affirmation of their essential sameness. The intimacy attained in this kind of pregenital utopia is characterized as a collaborative relation with another in which the needs of the other become as important, or nearly as important, as one's own. Communication between the two chums approaches what Sullivan terms the *syntactic:* Through constant exchange, their symbol systems become commensurate.

In Mishima's case, a profound loneliness propels him out of his fantasy life into the arena of the adolescent on stage. He seeks to affirm a desperately desired sameness with others but seeks to achieve this goal not through intimacy but rather through mimicry and the sampling of roles. If Sullivan is right when he claims that identity can only evolve in a context of interpersonal relations and that a key factor in the fostering of such development is the collaborative relation of intimate chums, then Mishima's attempt to consolidate an identity in a social-emotional vacuum is doomed from the very beginning.

But the situation becomes a bit more complex. With the eruption of the third dynamism and the concomitant problems of lust, Mishima's heretofore latent homsexuality takes a more active form, ultimately revealing a narcissism so extreme as to render the attainment of inti-

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macy, the affirmation of sameness, and the consolidation of identity goals eternally unattainable in his life. The complications arise with the entrance of the fourteen-year-old Mishima's first love object in the real world—a sixteen-year-old boy named Omi:

> A raw carnal feeling blazed up within me, branding my cheeks. I felt myself staring at him with crystal-clear eyes . . .
>
> For me this was the first love of my life. And if such a blunt way of speaking be forgiven, it was clearly a love closely connected with desires of the flesh.[33]

Omi is hardly the Sullivanian chum arriving on the scene a couple of years too late. With reference to Omi, there is no chance in Mishima's eyes for any kind of collaborative intimacy to be formed such that his essential similarity with a member of the same sex can be confirmed. The relationship in fact works against the quest for sameness. Omi is everything Mishima is *not* in reality. Additionally, he is everything Mishima wishes he could be in his private fantasy. Omi is indeed the night-soil man, the mounted knight, the sweaty soldier, and the frenzied shrine-bearer. He is the tragic hero incarnate, *and he exists in the real world.* Like his precursors in fantasy, he is the paragon on un-self-conscious, pure action. Only a reading of the second chapter of *Confessions* can adequately convey to the reader the stark contrast between the sickly and cerebral youth that is the fourteen-year-old Mishima and his robust and primordial love object. The following is a simple breakdown of what he and his love object represent to Mishima at the tender age of fourteen:

Mishima	*Omi*
weakness	strength
thought	action
consciousness	instinct
naivete	experience
cultural	primordial
mind	body
sickness	health
artificial	natural
conformity	rebellion
domestic	wild
chrysanthemum	sword

To accentuate the distinction further, the fourteen-year-old Mishima idealizes Omi, refusing to acknowledge the dissonant cognitions and perceptions that do not fit exactly the "perfect, flawless illusion of

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him." Mishima cannot bear the thought that Omi is a self-conscious, thinking person like himself:

> How could anyone have expected such a person to have a secret, inner life? All one could hope to find in him was the pattern of that forgotten perfection which the rest of us have lost in some far distant past.[34]

As Omi becomes a personification of an internal object created in the fantasy of a young boy imprisoned in his grandmother's sickroom, the same confusion between cathexis and identification that characterized Kimitake's feelings for his internal tragic heroes also begins to color Mishima's love for the sixteen-year-old boy who is so painfully external. The first sign of this conflict is revealed when Mishima is observing his lover exercising on the horizontal bar in gym class. All the boys observing are thrilled by the "extravagant abundance of life force," the "ill-humored, unconcerned exuberance" Omi radiates as he performs his flawless routine.[35] For Mishima, it is as if Omi's flesh, infected with this violent power, "had been put on this earth for no other reason than to become an insane human-sacrifice,"[36] and, hence, that familiar intimacy with death that so characterizes the tragic hero is projected onto Omi. The protagonist responds to the scene with an erection. He blushes. But then, something goes wrong. Jealousy invades the emotional realm, and the protagonist finds that he can no longer love Omi. Omi is the sword, and that stark reality infuriates Mishima. He is compelled to abandon his cathexis for Omi, and, as we will soon see, *to become his own lover.*

After the break-up with Omi, Mishima writes of a most astounding daydream in which the protagonist of *Confessions* repeatedly indulges. In a most sensuous prose, Mishima describes a funeral feast in which a naked young boy is tied to a platter and eaten alive. Before he carves the breast, the protagonist plants a lingering kiss on the lips of his muscular classmate. As he then thrusts the fork into his beloved's heart, a fountain of blood strikes him full in the face.

The fantasy manifests a well-known theme in Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia," revealing the regression of cathexis to identification in response to object loss.[37] In this case identification is symbolically represented in the phenomenon of incorporation—literally the "taking in" of the object in the classical totem meal. In *Totem and Taboo,* Freud writes of the slaying of the Primeval Father by the sons and their subsequent eating of his body representing an identification with the father, a resolution of the Oedipal Complex, the beginnings of the superego, and the establishment of a new order.[38] In Mishima, the syn-

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thesis of "Mourning and Melancholia" and *Totem and Taboo* takes the following form: The unidentified boy is Omi, the love object *who is lost because of and whose loss furthermore results in* internalization. The matching of an external object with the childhood fantasy of the tragic hero and the "reinternalization" of that flesh-and-blood object (not merely a fantasy product) results in an identification with Omi and a setting up of the internalized object as a kind of ego ideal. In Mishima's symbology "blood" equals "truth." The blood of Omi strikes the protagonist full in the face. On some level, the truth is apprehended: "I must become like Omi," and in the process integrate the earliest fantasies of the night-soil man with real action of the body.

Body and Action

In adulthood, Mishima's successes as a writer and actor do not erase his desire to become like Omi. The first step to fulfilling the identification is a transformation of body. In *Sun and Steel,* he writes,

> Specifically, I cherished a romantic impulse toward death, yet at the same time I required a strictly classical body as its vehicle; a peculiar sense of destiny made me believe that the reason why my romantic impulse toward death remained unfulfilled in reality was the immensely simple fact that I lacked the necessary physical qualifications. A powerful, tragic frame and sculpturesque muscles were indispensible in a romantically noble death. Any confrontation between weak, flabby flesh and death seemed to me absurdly inappropriate. Longing at eighteen for any early demise, I felt myself unfitted for it. I lacked, in short, the muscles suitable for a dramatic death. And it deeply offended my romantic pride that it should be this unsuitability that had permitted me to survive the war.[39]

In 1952, Mishima began a physical fitness program which eventually included swimming, boxing, and weight lifting. By 1955, his training regimen had advanced to three strenuous workouts a week, and until his death in 1970 Mishima was virtually obsessed with physical exercise. Over this period, he transformed himself from frail weakling to a muscular body-builder. For Mishima, physical exercise was an intoxicating activity that not only prepared his body for a glorious death but also provided an ephemeral epiphany of death:

> Ceaseless motion, ceaseless violent deaths, ceaseless escape from cold objectivity—by now, I could no longer live without such mysteries. And —needless to say—within each mystery there lay a small imitation of death.[40]

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Physical exercise corresponds to Mishima's River of the Body, but it is only via the River of Action that the heroism of glorious death can be accomplished. Though exercise is violent action affording epiphanies of death, only *seppuku* can make glorious death a reality. Indeed, Mishima conceived of *seppuku* as pure, un-selfconscious action. It is the confrontation with death that the tragic hero yearns for, the confrontation which indeed defines his life cycle as "tragic." It is the instantaneous identification with Omi that is but approximated along the River of Body. The act is non-reflexive. It occurs once and only once, and it leaves no room for after-the-fact rumination, no room for reflection. Neither thought nor words can obfuscate the reality of an action that once and for all obliterates thinking and writing. Pure, unselfconscious action. The night-soil man bearing his excrement. The shrinebearers in the noonday sun. Omi on the horizontal bar.

In the 1960's, Mishima finds an appropriate context in which to perform the pure action which is to synthesize reality and fantasy. The context is a political one. But the "patriotism" he ostensibly adheres to during the last decade of his life represents a personal rather than a political phenomenon. The right-wing extremism so vociferously advocated during his last years is an ideological vehicle for a noble death. Mishima reveals little interest in politics before 1960. Likewise, his call for the revival of Japanese patriotism in the 60's is an exhortation and a eulogy for a lost ideal of heroism, and a preparation for his own fulfillment of that ideal, but it is not a political argument per se:

> For every action there must be a reaction. And where does that reaction come from? It comes from your opponent. Without an opponent there is no point to action. Well, I was very much in need of an opponent and I settled on communism. It's not as if Communists had attacked my children or had set my house on fire. I have very little reason really. I simply chose communism as an opponent, because I needed an opponent to provoke me to action.[41]

In December of 1966, Mishima meets Bandai and Nakatsuji, both self-styled "neo-nationalists." Although neither of these two men has an appetite for glorious death in battle, they eventually introduce Mishima to other young men who do. After enlisting in the Army Self-Defense Force (ASDF) and subjecting himself to forty-six days of basic training, Mishima proposes to a student group that it is time to take political action. He conceives and creates a civilian army—named the "Tatenokai" or Shield Society—to aid the ASDF should it be obliged

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to combat aggression from the political Left. The creation of the Tatenokai and Mishima's eventual use of the group as a vehicle for *seppuku* have their cultural antecendents in a long line of Japanese folk tales and historical vignettes, the most famous of which is probably the story of the "forty-seven *ronin*" (masterless samurai warriors). Set in the golden period of the Tokugawa regime, the story tells of the ceremonial disembowelement of one Asano—lord and master of the forty-seven—whose suicide is punishment for a petty crime and a means of redeeming honor after being publically humiliated by a corrupt official of the court. The masterless forty-seven avenge the death of Asano by killing the venal official and many of his *samurai.* They are subsequently proclaimed heroes by the people, and after due consideration, the authorities permit the ronin to atone for their offense and preserve their honor by following the example of their master and commiting *seppuku.*[42,43]

Mishima's Tatenokai is comprised of students and office workers dedicated to the defense of the Emperor, at all costs. It is a standby army that is only to be mobilized in what Mishima likes to term "the final, desperate battle."[44] The final battle, however, is in reality a psychological one; the Tatenokai a "therapeutic" tool. But why does Mishima need the tool? Is it only to give the illusion of waging a battle with a menacing opponent? In *Sun and Steel,* Mishima himself attempts an answer:

> Only through the group, I realized—through sharing the suffering of the group—could the body reach that height of existence that the individual alone could never attain. And for the body to reach that level at which the divine might be glimpsed, a dissolution of the individual was necessary. The tragic quality of the group was also necessary—the quality that constantly raised the group out of the abandon and torpor into which it was prone to lapse, leading it on to ever-mounting shared suffering, and so to death—which meant, of course, that it must be a community of warriors . . .[45]

It seems curious, however, that one who has perennially conceived of himself as separated from communion with the world should in his mid-forties suddenly find meaning in interpersonal interaction within a new-found community. Mishima writes that in partaking of the shared suffering of the group he becomes one with the group. Individuality melts away. The integrity of the ego is surrendered in light of a more transpersonal goal. On the last page of *Sun and Steel,* he almost convinces us:

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> The pounding of the heart communicated itself to the group; we shared the same swift pulse. Self-awareness by now was as remote as the distant rumor of the town. I belonged to them, they belonged to me; the two formed an unmistakable "us." To belong—what more intense form of existence could there be? Our small circle of oneness was a means to a vision of that vast, dimly gleaming circle of oneness. And—all the while foreseeing that this imitation of tragedy was, in the same way as my own narrow happiness, condemned to vanish with the wind, to resolve itself into nothing more than muscles that simply existed—I had a vision where something that, if I were alone, would have resolved into muscles and words, was held fast by the power of the group and led me away to a far land, whence there would be no return. It was, perhaps, the beginning of my placing reliance on others, a reliance that was mutual; and each of us, by committing himself to this immeasurable power, belonged to the whole.[46]

An implacable narcissism, however, runs throughout this paean to the god of community. For Mishima, the group is *not* comprised of separate and unique individuals interacting with one another in view of a common good. The group interacts *as a whole* with Mishima, and Mishima with the group. "I belonged to them, they belonged to me; the two formed an unmistakable 'us.' " There exists the unique Mishima and the collective other; the two exist in a relation, for sure, but it is a relation of individual-to-group, instead of individual-to-individual within the context of a group. The distinction is crucial. It points to a false sense of community which Mishima holds up as a replacement for lifelong isolation and narcissism. But the isolation, the painful separateness which manifests itself even in the first sentence of *Confessions,* doggedly remains. The Tatenokai is the creation of one individual who seeks to use the group for the fulfillment of his own narcissism. Like Jahweh in the Old Testament, he does not live in the world he has created, but exists apart from it and above it. The orientation is "field-independent," non-contextual. Mishima, in a sense, operates outside the context of the group—the field—while using the group, when appropriate, to expedite an individual quest. Mishima instructs the Tatenokai to disband once he is dead. With the fulfillment of the creater's personal ideal, the created group ceases to have a *raison d'être.*

Agency and Communion

Mishima's community of warriors—the Tatenokai—is thus a vehicle for his own narcissistic quest to complete a true identification with a

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tragic hero personified in Omi. In dealing with this group, Mishima operates, as always, in what David Bakan would describe as the *agentic* rather than the *communal* mode of human existence. Indeed, the striking parallels between Mishima's life and Bakan's conceptualization of *unmitigated agency* necessitate a further consideration of Bakan's theory as a way of concluding this psychological examination of the death of Yukio Mishima.

In *The Duality of Human Existence,* Bakan writes:

> I have adopted the terms agency and communion to characterize two fundamental modalities in the existence of living forms, agency for the existence of an organism as an individual, and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism of which the individual is a part. Agency manifests itself in the formation of separations; communion in the lack of separations. Agency manifests itself in isolation, alienation, and aloneness; communion in contact, openness, and union. Agency manifests itself in the urge to master; communion in noncontractual cooperation.[47]

Bakan's conceptualizations of agency and communion are necessarily general and interdisciplinary. Agency and communion are underlying principles, themes, if you will, which can be applied in the understanding of all living forms. In the context of a psychobiography, therefore, they can be applied as underlying modes of existence which organize the data of the human life cycle.

Mishima, then, personifies unmitigated agency. According to Bakan, the agentic mode is field-independent, non-contextual, and individualistic. It has decidedly masculine overtones. If its power is not mitigated by the communal principle of living forms, it proves self-destructive. Like the cancer cell which develops without regard to the intercellular context in which it is embedded, the agentic principle may wax so potent as to manifest itself without regard to the communal context, totally usurping the power of communion and ultimately destroying the organism—be that organism a sub-human form of life, a human individual, or a society.

Bakan delineates a number of major themes of unmitigated agency and illustrates them through an analysis of the mythical figure of Satan, who exists as a projection by Western men and women of the agentic principle upon an archetypal image. Three key themes are *separation, mastery,* and *to behold that which has been denied.* Each takes on a trenchant meaning in the life of Yukio Mishima. The notion of *separation* is central to the Satan myth. Satan is a fallen angel who is at one

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time in relation with God but whose individualism (pride) leads to a split in the deity and a casting out of the rebel. Although themes of separation abound in all human lives, they appear to be unusually salient and profound in the life of Mishima. As has been mentioned above, the first sentence of *Confessions* begins to paint the picture of a painfully self-conscious and isolated individual who perceives the world and himself as separate and irreconcilable. At the age of fifty days, Kimitake is separated from his biological mother and cast into the sickroom of Natsu. His father reports that in early childhood, Kimitake has already separated himself from reality and retreated to the world of fantasy and introspection. His brother and sister report that even after Natsu releases him in adolescence, Kimitake always seems different from the rest of the family. He separates himself from his siblings by locking himself in his room to write and study. His frail health and physique are instrumental in separating him from his peers in elementary school, as are his gloomy mood and bashfulness. In adolescence, he searches for sameness but rejects all roles and role models. His ability to separate himself from the "stage of adolescence" and observe the frantic enactment of scripts and roles of the various actors, while swearing "unconditional loyalty to the stage manager [himself] of the play called adolescence," is uncanny, if not schizoid. Indeed, separation is the dominant theme in Fairbairn's schizoid personality whose ego is so wrought with splits as to be separated from itself. The schizoid's inability to offer his love to external objects separates him from the outside world and renders Bakan's communion an impossibility.

In *Sun and Steel,* Mishima writes that the most debilitating separation in his life is his early separation from his own body. By withdrawing into fantasy or engaging in writing, he isolates himself from the language of his body and fails to appreciate its potential for both life and glorious death. Although he eventually begins the body-building program, the separation seems to persist. The River of Writing and the River of Body do not seem to flow together at any point. Aspects of Mishima's life have a way of remaining autonomous and field-independent, separate agents in and of themselves. As he plans his death, he continues to write *The Decay of the Angel,* undaunted, undistracted. He sends the last chapter of this fourth book of his triumphant tetrology to the publisher on the morning that he makes the trip to General Mashita's office!

Mastery is the second theme of agency. In the New Testament, Satan is referred to as "the prince of the world" (John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11)

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and "the god of the world" (II Corinthians 4:4), titles denoting a mastery of the secular world which has characteristically been attributed throughout history to the projected Satan. The ego function of mastery is subsumed under such overarching rubrics as "ego strength," "coping," and "competence." Bakan also connects agentic mastery with D. C. McClelland's notion of achievement motivation which is conceived as a drive for attaining success or getting ahead within a competitive context with reference to a standard of excellence.[48] In the Faustian spirit, the person high in need for achievement may seek to master the secular world and, in a sense, make it his own. In *The Achieving Society,* McClelland looks to the mythical figure of Hermes as an embodiment of the spirit of achievement motivation. Hermes is an entrepreneur who devises ingenious skills to get ahead in the world, the craftsman and trickster who is born in the morning, constructs and performs the lyre at noon, and steals Apollo's cattle in the evening. McClelland relates the following corollary themes in the Hermes myth with high need for achievement: travel, upward mobility, athletic prowess, efficient use of time, and trickery and dishonesty.

Although a good deal of supportive data have been left out of this analysis, it is a fact that Mishima does exercise a tremendous amount of mastery over his environment. Mishima's need for achievement seems to reach dizzying heights, as manifested in an insatiable competitive spirit that runs throughout his life as a writer and as a man of the sword, rigorous self-imposed standards of excellence that he applies to both his writing and his body-building, and in an extraordinary efficiency in the use of his time which enables him to become Japan's most prolific novelist, a playwright, an actor, a sportsman, a soldier, and erudite scholar extensively versed in the writings of both East and West. Like McClelland's entrepreneur, Mishima is well-traveled (seven round-the-world trips), upwardly mobile, and an excellent athlete. His mastery is even evident in his ability to control other people. From scratch, he creates a civilian army dedicated to the defense of the Emperor and is able to use that army for his own psychological fulfillment. The Tatenokai is a frightening tribute to one man's uncanny abilty to master and manipulate both the physical and the interpersonal environment.

Drawing upon the works of Freud, Fliess, Weber, Erikson, and N. O. Brown, Bakan makes the connection between agentic mastery of the Satan myth and anality. (It is interesting to note that anality is also a theme in the Hermes myth.) Characteristics such as thrift, methodicalness, punctuality, reliability, and orderliness have been noted in the

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psychoanalytic literature as associated with the anal personality, essentially the characteristics Weber identified when he documented the association between the capitalistic spirit and the Protestant work ethic.[49] In their treatments of the life of Martin Luther, both Erikson[50] and Norman Brown[51] argue for an intrinsic connection between the Protestant illumination and anality. (Luther wrote, "This knowledge the Holy Spirit gave me on the privy in the tower.")[52] Finally, McClelland has connected the achievement motive with the entrepreneural spirit of traditional capitalism, claiming that the achievement motive can be seen as an intervening variable arising out of the assertiveness training historically characteristic of the relationship between Protestant mothers and their male offspring and connecting Protestantism with the resultant rise of the entrepreneural spirit and capitalism.

Given Mishima's exceedingly high need for achievement, his agentic mastery of the world, and the dreams of his childhood in which the tragic hero first manifests himself as the night-soil man, it appears that the issue of anality is another salient theme in Mishima's life. More specifically, feces represent the concrete part of the body which is closest to death. In "normal" development, claims Bakan, this apprehension of death is repressed so that the individual can face life and master it. Because he cannot repress death in his early years, however, Mishima is unable to affirm life and cannot at this time begin the business of mastering the real world. Feces are the first symbol of death in his fantasy, a symbol that becomes an inextricable part of the thematic constellation surrounding the tragic hero. Mishima's preoccupation with death causes him to immerse himself in his fantasy world. This withdrawal from reality is indeed exacerbated by the cold and morbid interpersonal milieu in which he finds himself captive for the first twelve years of his life.

I would suggest, however, that Omi jolts the fourteen-year-old Kimitake out of his shell of fantasy. Omi is the tragic hero in real life. He is the epitomization of the agentic. To become Omi and to have him (both to identify with and to cathect the object) represents for Mishima a mastery over death. This goal becomes his definition of fulfillment, and with the awakening of the idea that such a goal may indeed be attainable in reality, Mishima turns to the real world and begins to master it, agentically.

The third theme of agency is a paradoxical one because it denotes the renunciation of agency in the process of healing. *To behold that which has been denied* is to gaze upon those elements which agency has rendered separate (repressed) and by beholding them anew to undo the

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evil (pathological) action of unmitigated agency. In psychoanalysis, the unearthing of repressed psychic material serves as a prototype of this potentially salutary phase of the agentic, a phase in which *agency is undone.* In order to bring about the healing however, the surrender of mastery and control to free association in therapy is essential. Understanding replaces agentic knowledge, and the patient loses the control of his ego to regain it anew.

For Mishima, to behold that which has been denied is first to behold the body as it moves in violent exercise (the River of Body) and second to behold one's own death in seppuku (the River of Action). In the latter, one can see the glory of the tragic hero in action. Mishima describes his longing to see:

> The apple certainly exists, but to the core this existence as yet seems inadequate; if words cannot endorse it, then the only way to endorse it is with the eyes. Indeed, for the core the only sure mode of existence is to exist and to see at the same time. There is only one method of solving this contradiction. It is for a knife to be plunged deep into the apple so that it is split open and the core is exposed to the light—to the same light, that is, as the surface skin. Yet then the existence of the cut apple falls into fragments; the core of the apple sacrifices existence for the sake of seeing.[53]

At the moment the knife cuts, the core beholds that which has been denied. Healing and self-destruction are simultaneous.

At the moment of death, Mishima completes the identification with Omi. He *becomes* the tragic hero. But he also completes the cathexis of the tragic hero. In *Sun and Steel,* Mishima writes that the moment of identification with the tragic hero—*seppuku*—is supremely erotic as well:

> . . . the moment of death, the moment when, even without being seen, the fiction of being seen and the beauty of the object are permitted. Of such is the beauty of the suicide squad, which is recognized as beauty not only in the spiritual sense but, by men in general, in an ultra erotic sense also.[54]

The confusion between wanting *to be* and wanting *to have* the love object which is first manifested in Kimitake's feelings for the night-soil man and later revealed in his relationship with Omi surfaces again at the moment of death. Identification and object cathexis are never sorted out in the life of Yukio Mishima. And as he fashions himself into the physical image of Omi through fifteen years of rigorous body-building and seeks to capture the pure, noonday spirit of his lover in

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the life of the sword, Mishima's cathexis for an internalized object becomes self-cathexis. If he becomes Omi, he must have himself. In the thrusting of the sword into his own stomach he becomes simultaneously the lover and the beloved, the intrusive and the incorporative, the phallus and the vagina. *Seppuku* becomes the agentic act *per excellence* as the completely isolated individual finds that his mate in the act of sexual union must be himself.

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ROBERT H. BELL

Confession and Concealment in *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*

In 1897, writing for a short-lived journal edited by his brother-in-law Logan Pearsall Smith, Bertrand Russell produced an anonymous "Self-Appreciation." As in all autobiography, the author is trying on a mask; still, the mask roughly fits the contours of his face as Russell perceived it at the time. After a good deal of Wildean posing, he concludes: "Psychologically, sin has a meaning for me, and I love to see sinners punished. Logically I can find no meaning for the word Sin."[1] In another autobiographical meditation from this period, called *The Pilgrimage of Life,* Russell expresses a surprisingly intense desire to confess sin and seek penance: "when, worst of all, Death awakens us to an injury which it is now too late to repair: then remorse, black, swift, fierce, and terrible, takes possession of us, branding, scorching, withering, filling us with hatred of all sinners and a fiery desire for punishment. For ourselves, for others, we long for pain, intolerable pain, pain that shall expiate the awful load of guilt . . . there seems no forgiveness of sins, and our own ruthlessness becomes a law of nature."[2] In 1911, when he was forty, Russell devoted considerable time to a manuscript entitled *Prisons,* which he envisioned as a kind of spiritual autobiography like *Sartor Resartus.* "It is so desireable," he wrote Ottoline Morrell, "to be able to make a dramatic statement of views one doesn't agree with and moods one has outgrown. And one can make the final outcome more complex and many-sided than in direct exposition."[3] Unfortunately, he added, "I have no skill in that sort of thing; it is a pity."[4] Like *The Pilgrimage of Life* (1902–03),

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Prisons remains a heap of fascinating fragments, ranging from self-pitying lament to piercing eloquence.

Inspired by a complex range of impulses, Russell wrote versions of autobiography throughout his life. An important element in the final *Autobiography* stands out more visibly in the context of these earlier autobiographical excursions: the man who became the greatest skeptical sage since Voltaire in striking ways remained the child reared by his Calvinist grandmother and never stopped trying to compose spiritual autobiography. In this passage from the *Autobiography,*[5] for example, Russell recalls falling gravely ill in China in 1921, and describes the meaning of his recovery.

> I had always imagined until then that I was fundamentally pessimistic and did not greatly value being alive. I discovered in this that I had been completely mistaken, and that life was infinitely sweet to me. Rain in Peking is rare, but during my convalesence there came heavy rains bringing the delicious smell of damp earth through the windows, and I used to think how dreadful it would have been to have never smelt that smell again. I had the same feeling about the light of the sun, and the sound of the wind. Just outside my windows were some very beautiful acacia trees, which came into blossom at the first moment when I was well enough to enjoy them. I have known ever since that at bottom I am glad to be alive. Most people, no doubt, always know this, but I did not.

At many such moments Russell's lifestory resembles inchoate spiritual autobiography. Almost exactly in the middle of his long life, he vividly imagines what appears to be a metaphoric death and rebirth: sickness unto death, regeneration in springtime, conversion to life. Yet Russell's sweeping revaluation of self lacks the certainty or finality of, say, Augustine's *Confessions* or Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua:* he never finds anything transcendent and eternal upon which to rely. Consequently, the symbolic meaning of particular events and the larger pattern of his whole life are not seen as providential.[6]

The other dominant strain in all Russell's autobiography is doubt. If he is something of a spiritual autobiographer *manqué,* he is emphatically an Enlightenment philosophe. Yet the *Autobiography* of this perpetually inquiring skeptic is a very puzzling and cryptic work. Fearlessly committed to rigorous self-scrutiny (a disposition common to both skeptics and the faithful), Russell frequently fails to explore troubling issues. Why, during an idyllic year with Dora Black in China was it such a surprise to discover that "at bottom I was glad to be alive"? Russell's limpid prose swerves away from the question, offering instead such a marvelous capping vignette that we scarcely notice what

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has been ignored: "I was told that the Chinese said that they would bury me by the Western Lake and build a shrine to my memory. I have some slight regret that this did not happen, as I might have become a God, which would have been very *chic* for an atheist" (II, 188). The glittering wit of such sentences is worthy of Voltaire, Gibbon, or Hume. Russell even has the pleasure of recording one of his obituary notices: "Missionaries may be pardoned for heaving a sigh of relief at the news of Mr. Bertrand Russell's death" (II, 189).

It is characteristic of Russell the autobiographer to dramatize his revelation in Peking without connecting it to the rest of his life. In this regard he is the antithesis of the spiritual pilgrim who views his life in retrospect as reenacting the pattern of fall and redemption. Russell's conception of Logical Atomism repudiates pattern and epitomizes secular empiricism: "The most fundamental of my intellectual beliefs is that the idea that the world is a unity is rubbish. I think the universe is all spots and jumps, without unity, and without continuity, without coherence or orderliness, or any of the other properties governesses love."[7] Instead of unified development, Russell's *Autobiography* presents a series of revaluations which remain transient and discontinuous. In 1901 he experienced what he describes as "a sort of mystic illumination" involving the ill wife of his collaborator A. N. Whitehead: "She seemed cut off from everyone and everything by walls of agony, and the sense of the solitude of each human soul suddenly overwhelmed me. Ever since my marriage, my emotional life had been calm and superficial. I had forgotten all the deeper issues, and had been content with flippant cleverness. Suddenly the ground seemed to give way beneath me, and I found myself in quite another region" (I, 193).

As in the China vision, the immediate context is most significant for what it does not reveal. Russell tells us that the previous year had been "intellectually . . . the highest point of my life" (I, 192). There are in the *Autobiography* glaring discontinuities between Russell's emotional and intellectual aspects. His marriage to Alys was on the verge of collapse and his passionate regard for Evelyn Whitehead was probably never expressed. Still the ramifications of his empathy for Evelyn were remarkable: "Within five minutes I went through some such reflections as the following: the loneliness of the human soul is unendurable; nothing can penetrate it except the highest intensity of the sort of love that religious teachers have preached; whatever does not spring from this motive is harmful, or at best useless; it follows that war is wrong, that a public school education is abominable, that the use of

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force is to be deprecated, and that in human relations one should penetrate to the core of loneliness in each person and speak to that." Again Russell finds religious idiom natural, speaking of the "human soul" and the spiritual exhortations of "religious teachers." How he gets to war and public school education is unclear. The moment ends this way: "The Whiteheads' youngest boy, aged three, was in the room. I had previously taken no notice of him, nor he of me. He had to be prevented from troubling his mother in the middle of her paroxysms of pain. I took his hand and led him away. He came willingly, and felt at home with me. From that day to his death in the war in 1918, we were close friends" (I, 193–194).

This pivotal episode reveals both the lucidity and murkiness of Russell's autobiographical vision. On the surface it dramatizes, quite beautifully, the reality of loneliness and the need for compassion. It is a moment, all too rare for Russell, when he "felt at home." But the conventional figure-of-speech also suggests a deeper, unexplored association. Russell becomes acutely aware of Evelyn's pain because he identifies with the little boy: Russell had lost both his parents at that age. Those five minutes symbolized the painful orphanage of all life and in this perception he "had become a completely different person" (I, 194).[8]

Unfortunately, this conversion, like the rebirth in Peking twenty years later, yields to Russell's habitual and dominant "habit of analysis" (194). I say "unfortunately" not because I wish Russell had composed genuine spiritual autobiography but because he suffered so long from his solitude. And because he was unable to sustain the values of his "mystic illumination," he brought pain to many people he loved. Within a page of describing his illumination he recalls another revelation: "I went out bicycling one afternoon, and suddenly, as I was riding along a country road, I realized that I no longer loved Alys. I had no idea until this moment that my love for her was even lessening" (196). Apparently the "core of loneliness" in his wife's soul did not inspire "the sort of love" he had gleaned in his mystic illumination.

Thus Russell's Logical Atomism, which may account for (or at least describe) the many formal deficiencies of his *Autobiography,* has far graver implications we might call Psychic Atomism. Perhaps the most interesting sections of his story are these startling disjunctions and lacunae. At crucial moments like the bicycle ride, Russell virtually disappears; he not only fails to connect the "spots and jumps" of his universe, he seems oblivious that anything is missing. The obvious question is, how could anybody be so estranged from his emotions as not to

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realize love was diminishing until it was gone? Equally striking is why the autobiographer fails to ask such a question. As a narrator he is most remarkable for "the absence of the presence." Russell's illuminations, pitying Evelyn or forsaking Alys, are precisely articulated and deeply baffling. Perhaps the inclusion of so many letters, ultimately some two-thirds of the manuscript, is not mere padding, but a recognition and a strategy: Russell sensed that he was an elusive, evanescent presence in his own story and thus provided data for verification.

Russell's conception of himself in his *Autobiography* is almost exclusively emotional and sexual, especially in the first two volumes. Accounts of his work and thought are sketchy and disappointing. The idea of integrating his emotional and intellectual life, in the manner of Gibbon or Mill, either did not occur to him or seemed unappealing or insurmountable. He wrote a separate account called *My Philosophical Development.* It was often this incongruity between his feelings and thoughts which forcibly struck his contemporaries and perpetually haunted him. He begins a love letter to Alys, "Don't say thee thinks of me from my letters as 'brains in the abstract,' it does sound *so* cold and dry and lifeless" (I, 130). Perhaps in compensation, his *Autobiography* is unusually candid, as in mentioning the bad breath which offended his lover Ottoline Morrell. Yet confessional candor vies awkwardly with self-delusion:

> So many things were forbidden me that I acquired the habit of deceit, in which I persisted up to the age of twenty-one. It became second nature to me to think that whatever I was doing had better be kept to myself, and I have never quite overcome the impulse to concealment which was thus generated. I still have an impulse to hide what I am reading when anybody comes into the room, and to hold my tongue generally as to where I have been, and what I have done. It is only by a certain effort of will that I can overcome this impulse . . . (I, 39).

No sooner does he say he overcame the habit of deceit at twenty-one than he admits he has never fully overcome it, and still has a rather evident obsessive neurosis. Confessing the "impulse to concealment" is an intriguing and complicated autobiographical tactic: now we wonder how much he will not tell.

Conversely, he often puzzles us by telling so much, as in the strange way he ends Volume One. He recounts an episode he need not have included in a somewhat disconcerting tone: a sort of unrepentant confession. As Russell tells the story, he stayed during an American lecture tour with the family of an eminent gynecologist, whose daughter

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he had met while she was studying at Oxford.[9] Russell admired her poetry and sensibility and (as often with the objects of his affection) imagined himself an altruistic source of life: "Her youth had been lonely and unhappy, and it seemed that I could give her what she wanted" (I, 286). While her three sisters stood guard, Russell had relations with her. They agreed that she should join him in England "as soon as possible and that we would live together openly, perhaps marrying later on if a divorce could be obtained."

Russell returned to England and to Ottoline, cured of his obnoxious pyorrohoea and thus more appealing. By the time the young woman arrived, war erupted and seized Russell's attention. He did not wish to compromise his public stance against the war with a private scandal. "I felt it therefore impossible to carry out what we had planned. She stayed in England and I had relations with her from time to time, but the shock of the war killed my passion for her, and I broke her heart." Later she succumbed to a disease which paralyzed her and drove her insane. "Before insanity attacked her, she had a rare and remarkable mind, and a disposition as lovable as it was unusual. If the war had not intervened, the plan which we formed in Chicago might have brought great happiness to us both. I feel still the sorrow of this tragedy" (287).

Although Russell gives us no reason to doubt the authenticity of his sorrow, he seems not to recognize the potentially damaging nature of his testimony. It has the stock ingredients of a romantic melodrama—the lonely young girl smitten by the cosmopolitan professor, faithfully following her lover to Europe, abandoned to an awful death. Small wonder that this episode finds its way into the *Dictionary of National Biography:* "He also met Helen Dudley who was to follow him fruitlessly in the war, one of the more pathetic victims of his amorous energies."[10] It is true that Russell might have been more self-critical; he might also have suppressed the story entirely or withheld the fact that he urged her to come to England in hopes of a marriage. The attitude he strikes is decidedly mixed: unrepentant but saddened, objective rather than defensive or self-serving. The original draft of this passage, incidentally, has a more emotive conclusion: "I feel still as poignantly as if it were yesterday the sorrow of this tragedy."[11]

Russell's complex tone was shaped by many factors, including the massive "shock of the war" and, probably, his memory of Helen's post-war letters. After she returned to America, they corresponded only occasionally, without regrets or reproaches. In 1922, for example, she wrote to congratulate him on the birth of his son, and describes a "funny experience" in which she met a man "you had once demol-

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ished in a discussion, wiped up the floor with him. Then he asked me if I could explain what your attraction was for women! Couldn't understand it himself but knew three women in this country on whom you'd made a lasting impression—when you were spoken of their expressions changed. Mine didn't change and he was left guessing about a possible fourth woman. . . ."[12] Helen sounds positively smug about being one of the elect—far from a "pathetic victim." Like so many of Russell's lovers, she felt touched by something extraordinary, and remained uncommonly loyal and magnanimous. For Russell, Helen was a genuine passion but only a temporary respite from terrible loneliness, in which, as he writes elsewhere in his *Autobiography,* "one shivering consciousness looks over the rim of the world into the cold unfathomable lifeless abyss" (I, 3).

Russell's *Autobiography,* as in his recollection of Helen Dudley, is a fascinating blend of insight and blindness, revealing without quite evaluating some of his deepest needs. Both the extent and limits of his vision emerge in this passage, when he and Dora have just arrived in Tokyo:

> and were received by a series of magnesium explosions, each of which made Dora jump, and increased my fear of a miscarriage. I became blind with rage, the only time I have been so since I tried to strangle FitzGerald. I pursued the boys with the flashlights, but being lame, was unable to catch them, which was fortune, as I should certainly have committed murder. An enterprising photographer succeeded in photographing me with my eyes blazing. I should not have known that I could have looked so completely insane. This photograph was my introduction to Tokyo. I felt at the moment the same type of passion as must have been felt by Anglo-Indians during the mutiny, or by white men surrounded by a rebel coloured population. I realized then that the desire to protect one's family from injury at the hands of an alien race is probably the wildest and most passionate feeling of which man is capable. (II, 193)

The photograph undoubtedly blazoned the event on his memory, but it is not the kind of portrait one usually hangs in one's own gallery. To Russell the picture is telling because it depicts the irrational element he strove to combat. With the dedication of an Enlightenment philosophe he describes the picture, fearlessly revealing what he dreads, and captures the beast with his best weapon, intellect. He holds the passion in his hand, at arm's length but under intense scrutiny, and connects it with similar passions about which he has read. Then he moves to higher ground, the plateau of philosophical generalization, associat-

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ing his temporary insanity with a permanent and universal human quality, "probably the wildest and most passionate feeling of which man is capable."

With his laser-like intellect, Russell was known in Ottoline's Garsington circle (awkwardly but aptly) as "Day of Judgment." With the notable exception of his "longing for love," (I, 3) he visited the judgment of Jeremiah upon himself as well as others. But he never regarded such vision as an unmixed blessing; once, speaking of the sympathy between himself and Joseph Conrad, he defined it as "Satanic mysticism": "I cannot pretend that I have ever quite understood it. I think I have always felt that there were two levels, one that of science and common sense, and another, terrifying, subterranean and periodic, which in some sense held more truth than the everyday view. . . ."[13] He repeats the demonic imagery at the beginning of Volume Two of the *Autobiography* in stating that his life before 1910 and after 1914 was "as sharply divided as Faust's life before and after he met Mephistopheles . . . thinking of myself as a non-supernatural Faust for whom Mephistopheles was represented by the Great War" (II, 3). His definition of Satanic Mysticism, and the cryptic, strained quality of the comparison with Faust, indicate that Russell is groping toward a painful realization: can it be that he is estranged because in some sense he deserves punishment? Two parallel scenes, beginning and ending the chapter on World War I show the degree and sources of alienation.

As war seems imminent, he walks around Trafalgar Square, "noticing cheering crowds, and making myself sensitive to the emotions of passers-by. During this and the following days I discovered to my amazement that average men and women were delighted at the prospect of war. I had fondly imagined what most pacifists contended, that wars were forced upon a reluctant population by despotic and Machiavellian governments" (4). Again he articulates his significant discovery and repudiates his "fondly imagined" misconception. Notice too the self-conscious collection of data: "making myself sensitive to the emotions. . . ." Like an anthropologist he observes the natural responses of the distant society he visits.

One might expect Armistice to erase or at least assuage these terrors of isolation. It does not. "Late into the night I stayed alone in the streets, watching the temper of the crowd, as I had done in the August days four years before. The crowd was frivolous still, and had learned nothing during the period of horror, except to snatch at pleasure more recklessly than before. I felt strangely amid the rejoicings, like a ghost

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dropped by accident from some other planet" (II, 35). Russell sounds like Milton's Raphael, rather bitterly disappointed that humanity will never learn the lessons. It's not surprising that Russell would remain mindful of the waste and carnage he had prophesied; but to characterize the armistice celebration as "frivolous" and "reckless" is perhaps severe. It tells us more about what "Day of Judgment" brought to the moment than what he saw there.

What follows this scene is an astonishing confession:

> Always the skeptical intellect, when I have most wished it silent, has whispered doubts to me, has cut me off from the facile enthusiasms of others, and has transported me into a desolate solitude. . . . Underlying all occupations and all pleasures I have felt since early youth the pain of solitude. I have escaped it most nearly in moments of love, yet even there, on reflection, I have found that the escape depended partly on illusion. I have known no woman to whom the claims of intellect were as absolute as they are to me, and wherever intellect intervened, I have found that the sympathy I sought in love was apt to fail. What Spinozoa calls "the intellectual love of God" has seemed to me the best thing to live by, but I have not had even the somewhat abstract God that Spinozoa allowed himself to whom to attach my intellectual love. I have loved a ghost, and in loving a ghost my inmost self has itself become spectral. I have therefore buried it deeper and deeper beneath layers of cheerfulness, affection, and joy of life. But my most profound feelings have remained always solitary and have found in human things no companionship. The sea, the stars, the night wind in waste places, mean more to me than even the human beings I love best, and I am conscious that human affection is to me at bottom an attempt to escape the vain search for God (II, 35–6).

Russell's horrible discovery, "I have loved a ghost," is especially emphatic following his depiction of himself as a "ghost dropped by accident from some other planet." Not only pleasure and purpose, but fundamental identity, appear insubstantial: only desolation and despair have reality. No wonder we hear so many references to suicide in this story.

The same subjects recur, explicitly or metaphorically, throughout all his autobiographical writings: darkness, gulfs, ghosts, spectres, suicide. Here is an entry from his occasional journal of 1892–95, quoted in his *Autobiography.*

> I feel as though darkness were my native element, and a cruel destiny has compelled me, instead of myself attaining to the light, to drag her back with me into the gulf from which I have partially emerged. I can-

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> not tell whether this destiny will take the form of a sudden blow, or of a long-drawn torture, sapping our energies and ruining our love; but I am haunted by the fear of the family ghost, which seems to seize on me with clammy invisible hands to avenge my desertion of its tradition of gloom —(I, 65–66).

The passage is even more incongruous and ominous in its original context: young Russell has just completed a successful, even ecstatic, courtship of Alys! If this bleakness were merely an incidental gloom, we could attribute it to the painful struggle with his "people" for independence and to his fear of the hereditary insanity with which they tried to dissuade him from marriage. Yet we discover the imagery everywhere. Like the self-consciously tragic young Romeo, Russell perceived ill omens before any irreparable disaster occurs, because that is what he finds in himself. When, for example, Russell had to identify the corpse of his brother Frank, he seemed to see his own reflection: "He looked more than life-size and terribly cruel, like some dark heathen deity to whom human sacrifices are offered."[14] What he most feared was neither insanity nor suicide, but the cruel force of his self-absorption.

In 1933 Colette published a *roman à clef* entitled *The Coming Back.* Russell appears as Gregory del Orellano, who has a student named T. C. Maynard, Colette's version of T. S. Eliot. To Maynard Colette attributes a pointed evaluation of Gregory: "a man exhausting other men by his intellect; exhausting women by his intensity; wearing out his friends, sucking them dry, passing from person to person, never giving any real happiness—or finding any . . . it was in just such a (perhaps unnecessarily melodramatic) light," adds the narrator, "that Gregory often saw himself: as an harbinger of doom."[15]

In her avowedly autobiographical account, *After Ten Years: A Personal Record,* Colette quotes Russell speaking in just such terms.

> One felt an alien among people to whom one could not speak in a language they could understand. . . . One was strangely unhappy because the pattern of one's life was complicated. . . . The center of one was always and enternally a terrible pain—a curious wild pain—a searching for something beyond what the world contained, something transfigured and infinite—the beatific. . . . One did not find it. . . . Perhaps it was not to be found—but the love of it was one's life. It was like passionate love for a ghost. At times it filled one with rage, at times with wild despair, it was the source of gentleness and cruelty and work. . . . It was the actual spring of life within one. One could not explain it or make it seem anything but foolishness. . . . One had known others who had it—

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> Joseph Conrad especially. . . . It made people's gospels often seem thin. It gave one a sense of great isolation. One sought escape from it, though perhaps one ought not to. . . . One had to look into hell before one had any right to speak of heaven. . . . [16]

Russell realized that his "spring of life" was also "an harbinger of doom." Unable, until very late in life, to control this force, Russell's courageous honesty in confronting and revealing it is one of the heroic virtues of his *Autobiography.*

It is in this light, I believe, that we should view Russell's decades of philandering. The very word "philandering" is misleading, since it suggests thoughtless trifling instead of Russell's earnest, desperate questing. As he says, he escaped the "pain of solitude . . . most nearly in moments of love" which are invariably revealed as "illusion." Another remarkable gap in the *Autobiography* is Russell's failure to correlate his emotional needs, his sexual behavior, and his childhood deprivations. Early on in the *Autobiography,* Russell describes the *menage à trois* between his parents and his tutor. His free-thinking parents decided that although the tutor was tubercular and should not marry, he ought not to be deprived of sexual relations. With clinical sympathy Russell recounts the situation and adds, with surprising blandness, that he knows "of no evidence" that his mother "derived any pleasure" from the arrangement (I, 10). The apostle of liberty resists the notion that his mother might have enjoyed sexual passions. In his Journal of 1902–05 he records an episode which further illuminates his complicated feelings towards his mother and the other women in his life.

Alys had directed the maid to clean a miniature of Russell's mother; the job was botched and the picture ruined. Russell refrains from reproaching Alys but complains to their visitor Lucy Donnelly. The anger bursting through Russell's calm recitation of the facts is extraordinary.

> I said very little: only that I had refrained from blaming her . . . and that she couldn't understand why I wouldn't have it restored by Mrs. Mason, whom I think sentimental and self-absorbed and an intolerably bad miniature-painter, and who in any case could not have given me back the thing I had loved, with the more intensity because I had not permitted the same sort of love to grow up towards any other possession. I was vexed, not only because of the loss, but also because she thought she knew better than I did how to take care of things I valued, and therefore took the opportunity of my absence to do what she knew I should not have wished; also because she did not feel the sacrilege of giving

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such a thing to a common whore . . . I minded the loss of the picture quite immensely; I don't know how long it will take me really to forgive her (Jan. 14, 1905).[17]

Note that he attributes conscious malice to his wife, and considers it not simply a loss but a terrible desecration: "giving such a thing to a common whore." It may be that Russell's romances were a quest for the perpetual renewal of ideal union. His love letters, often extraordinarily beautiful, sometimes depict sexual intimacy as the bliss of a nursing baby. Of course in real life no woman, no person, can bear for very long the madonna's mantle. Like his mother's miniature, every icon becomes tarnished and destroyed. "The thing I had loved" is always another ghost, insubstantial yet ineluctable.

In this regard, Russell's next and penultimate journal entry is particularly significant. He confesses, "I feel temptations that I cannot think decent people feel" (March 9, 1905). The measure of young Russell's prudishness is his assumption that sexual fantasies are both shameful and peculiar. Possibly his guilt was aggravated by years of calculated coolness toward Alys; nothing makes us feel more wicked than living in bad faith. "The Day of Judgment" brings resurrection to few, damnation to most. Russell wishes to imagine himself as a life-affirming spirit, wakening men and women to beauty, hope, and "joy of life"; he fears that he is also "an harbinger of doom," stripping people, including himself, of the illusions we live by. After such knowledge, what forgiveness? It is precisely when he feels most passionately about someone that he is most likely to reject her. The ghosts of Alys, Helen Dudley, Vivien Eliot,[18] Colette haunt him. As autobiographer Russell veers sporadically from callous egocentricity to stringent self-castigation, in a "vain search" for human companionship, logical certainty, or God.

A good test of an autobiographer is his version of quarrels; Rousseau's pathetic self-pleadings illustrate how badly an autobiographer can go astray. Russell's version of his "brief and hectic" relationship with D. H. Lawrence, a kind of "Dionysus meets Mr. Apollinax," dramatizes some of what he discovered about himself.[19] Russell in retrospect is able to remember Lawrence's virtues: "I felt him to be a man of a certain imaginative genius . . . I thought that perhaps his insight into human nature was deeper than mine" (II, 11). Russell the rationalist imagined that Lawrence the Dionysian offered a "vivifying dose" (15) of life-force. "It was only gradually that I came to feel him a positive force of evil and that he came to have the same feeling about

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me" (11). Lawrence's denunciations had a devastating effect upon Russell: "I was inclined to believe that he had some insight denied to me, and when he said my pacifism was rooted in blood-lust I supposed he must be right. For twenty-four hours I thought I was not fit to live and contemplated suicide. . . . He had written, 'The enemy of all mankind you are, full of the lust of enmity. It is *not* a hatred of falsehood which inspires you, it is the hatred of people of flesh and blood, it is a perverted mental blood-lust. Why don't you own it? Let us become strangers again. I think it is better.' I thought so too. . . ." (II, 14).

Projecting frantically and ludicrously, Lawrence still touched upon a truth implicitly acknowledged by Russell; in a sense the *Autobiography* is a belated attempt to "own it." Russell realized that there was an element of misanthropy in his prophetic denunciations of human folly; and in his personal relations it was all-too-easy to "become strangers again" with people he once loved. As an epigraph to his second volume of *Autobiography* Russell selects Blake's "The Defiled Sanctuary."

I saw a chapel all of gold
  That none did dare to enter in,
And many weeping stood without,
  Weeping, mourning, worshipping.

I saw a serpent rise between
  The white pillars of the door,
And he forced and forced and forced
  Till down the golden hinges tore:

And along the pavement sweet,
  Set with pearls and rubies bright,
All his shining length he drew,—
  Till upon the altar white

Vomited his poison out
  On the bread and on the wine.
So I turned into a sty,
  And laid me down among the swine.

In a fine bit of Blakean (and Lawrentian) exegesis, Russell describes the speaker as a "worshipper of Bacchus who had been unable to combat his Pentheus" (I, 213). The defiled sanctuary represents for Russell all the noble Victorian illusions shattered by the Great War. But I also think that in that serpent vomiting his poison out, Russell may have recognized himself.

A final instance of "concealed confessions" occurs in Volume III,

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where Russell pauses rather oddly to give a synopsis of an unpublished short story. A scientist invents an annihilation machine and decides, like the Old Testament Jehovah, to see if the world deserves to be spared: "He keeps his little machine in his waistcoat pocket and if he presses the knob the world will cease to exist. He goes round the world examining whatever seems to him evil, but everything leaves him in doubt until he finds himself at a Lord Mayor's banquet and finds the nonsense talked by politicians unbearable. He leaps up and announces that he is about to destroy the world. The other diners rush at him to stop him. He puts his thumb in his waistcoat pocket—and finds that in changing for dinner he forgot to move the little machine" (III, 31).

Russell is of course that mad scientist, who might well have been nicknamed "Day of Judgment." The scientist is blessed and cursed with more than mortal power and insight; like Russell he is confident that he can define good and evil, until experience "leaves him in doubt." So infuriated does he become by the venial offense of political rhetoric that he decides to sacrifice the whole world. One of Russell's most famous aphorisms, from a celebrated BBC talk on the nuclear peril, is "Remember your humanity—and forget the rest" (III, 91). In Russell's grim little parable, his alter ego forgets his humanity and obliviously forgets the rest too. The burden of this demonic alter ego helps account for Russell's "sense of sin" (I, 24 and III, 85) and desire for martyrdom. It also helps explain why he is so thoroughly surprised by joy, even predictable pleasures, like being lauded "For he's a jolly good fellow" by fellow peace marchers or celebrated by birthday well-wishers. With the Puritan's drive to define goodness and wickedness, and relentless introspection, his *Autobiography* is unsparing, but there is no grace abounding to this chief of sinners.

Ideally Russell might have given more credence to the complexity of his experience and discovered the extent as well as the limits of his development. Instead he tended to apply his favorite philosophical tool: Occam's Razor. For a certain kind of philosophical analysis, Occam's Razor is useful; "for any more particular account of heart-occurrences," in Richard Baxter's wonderful phrase,[20] it can be disastrous. We see the difficulty in Russell's treatment of his religious skepticism. He includes a perfectly fair sample of his adolescent "Greek Exercises," with one significant exception—the omission of this final entry.

> Thus God has become a part of my life, an ever present influence, moulding my action and my thought, comforting me in dejection and

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soothing me in inquietude.—Whether this faith be mere poetic sentimentalism, as a year ago I should have pronounced it to be, I know not; but this I do know, that it brightens my life, and harmonizes with all my highest. Let it then remain and bear fruit.[21]

Although young Russell methodically and systematically repudiated most of the conventional faith of his Grandmother, there remained a truly spiritual aspiration. His retrospective view simplifies the tension by suggesting a more *resolved* skeptical conclusion to his struggles. He seems less embarrassed about disclosing intimate sexual details than about confessing embers of religious flame. In fact, long after he claims to have resolved the issue Russell was driven by spiritual questing and tormented by doubts. On December 5, 1892, he records in his Journal: "O God forgive me; I have sinned grievously. . . . How vain a thing it is to lead others to a knowledge of the highest when in my own acts I evince a folly no less than that of whatever companions chance or the moment has assigned to me!"[22]

In one *Prisons* essay, Russell distinguishes between the religion of salvation, for which he has majestic scorn, and the religion of humanity. By the time he has pared away the fallacious and the non-verifiable, Russell is left with a narrowly secular and humanist credo. That is no mean achievement, but I wish his *Autobiography* gave a fuller sense of the nobility and grandeur, as well as the pain and frustration, of his odyssey. Russell seems to me a martyr of modernism, unable to do full justice to his own story. He was, after all, much more than he renders—surely one of our century's most profound humane teachers. What might have been is what he imagined in *Prisons* as the purpose of studying great lives: a vision of one of "the men whose mere attempts to redeem the human race, [whose] fragments of success form the inspiration of all that is best. . . ."[23]

It was precisely this sense of disappointment Ottoline Morrell felt when she read the early draft of Russell's *Autobiography* in 1931. Understandably sensitive to Russell's portrait of her, because she had been savagely caricatured by Lawrence in *Women in Love* and satirically rendered by Aldous Huxley in *Crome Yellow,* she rose above personal interest and urged him to write an autobiography as good as Gibbon's, a story "bigger, less personal," closer to the "large events of general life."[24] She liked the first half of what Russell had written, and warmly praised one of his finest passages, "regarding the skeptical intellect" and Spinoza's "intellectual love of God" (II, 35–6). She urged him to delete some "spiteful" details; in another letter she notes

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that she has never seen as much evil in humans as Russell does, and implores him to include more of his "great & imaginative and wonderful side. . . . And above all give ideas."[25]

Russell took only a few of Ottoline's suggestions and never reconceived his story in the grander way she imagined. Most of what she did not live to read, Volume III, is terribly disappointing—the more so because Russell addressed those "large events" such as human rights, nuclear proliferation, war and peace. Here more than anywhere we seek that prophetic, solitary voice crying in the wilderness. Instead we get pages of tedious travelogue and petty political tribulations, little of what Ottoline valued, his ideas about "general life." The third volume was dictated, apparently in haste, to Edith Russell, and is marred by awkward constructions and even grammatical errors. Consequently the Postscript comes as a wondrous revelation; it was actually written almost twenty years earlier, as "Reflection on my Eightieth Birthday," in *Portraits From Memory.*

The Postscript is Russell at his finest, stirring, but sadly reminding us once more how great an *Autobiography* he might have composed. When he says, "I was troubled by scepticism and unwillingly forced to the conclusion that most of what passes for knowledge is open to reasonable doubt. I wanted certainty in the kind of way in which people want religious faith" (III, 326), he suggests an overall pattern of development which remains merely incipient in his story.

The concluding paragraphs rise to a glorious height, balancing his political and intellectual disappointments with indomitable spirit.

> But beneath all this load of failure I am still conscious of something that I feel to be victory. I may have conceived theoretical truth wrongly, but I was not wrong in thinking that there is such a thing, and that it deserves our allegiance. I may have thought the road to a world of free and happy human beings shorter than it is proving to be, but I was not wrong in thinking that such a world is possible, and that it is worth while to live with a view to bringing it nearer. I have lived in the pursuit of a vision, both personal and social. Personal: to care for what is noble, for what is beautiful, for what is gentle; to allow moments of insight to give wisdom at more mundane times. Social: to see in imagination the society that is to be created, where individuals grow freely, and where hate and greed and envy die because there is nothing to nourish them. These things I believe, and the world, for all its horrors, has left me unshaken.

In such moments, Russell shares "the intellectual love of God" with his beloved Spinoza. At his best, Russell conveys tragic awareness in what he elsewhere calls "a voice speaking straight to experience and

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sorrow." With lucidity, detachment, and authority, he conveys the vision of a life lived passionately and contemplated whole, under the aspect of eternity. Here, truly, we are touched by the presence of a great man whose fragments of success inspire, if not redeem us.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

NOTES

1. "Self-Appreciation," in *The Collected Papers,* Vol. I, ed. Kenneth Blackwell, et al (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 73.
2. "Forgiveness of Sins" in *The Pilgrimage of Life,* in a forthcoming volume of *The Collected Papers.*
3. BR to Ottoline Morrell, 9 January 1912, in the Russell Archives of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.
4. Cited by Ronald W. Clark, *A Life of Bertrand Russell* (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 159.
5. Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography: 1914–1944* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1968), p. 188. Subsequent references identified by volume and page number.
6. In Newman's *Apologia,* by contrast, life is a journey toward safe harbor. Events like sickness in Sicily in 1833 are inherently meaningful: recovery signifies spiritual rebirth. Newman in fact recalls himself lying near death and murmuring, "I shall not die, for I have not sinned against the light."
7. Cited by John Lewis in *Bertrand Russell: Philosopher and Humanist* London: Lawrence and Winshart, 1968), p. 29.
8. For more on this episode, see Bennett and Nancy Simon, "The Pacifist Turn: An Episode of Mystic Illumination in Russell's Life," *Russell: The Journal of the Bertrand Russell Archives,* 13 (Spring 1974), p. 11–24.
9. The young woman, Helen Dudley, is named in the 1931 typescript of the *Autobiography,* now in the Humanities Research Center at Austin, Texas.
10. Anthony Quinton, "Russell," in the *Dictionary of National Biography 1961–1970* (Oxford University Press, 1981) ed. E. T. Williams and C. S. Nicholls, p. 904.
11. Cited with permission of the Humanities Research Center.
12. Helen Dudley to Bertrand Russell, 8/1/22, Russell Archives.
13. In *Dear Bertrand Russell: a selection of his correspondence with the general public, 1950–1968,* ed. Barry Feinberg and Ronald Kasrils (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1969), p. 190 (letter dated October 3, 1961).
14. Bertrand Russell to Ottoline Morrell, 9/3/31.
15. Constance Malleson, *The Coming Back* (London, Toronto: Janathan Cape, 1933), p. 307.
16. Constance Malleson, *After Ten Years: A Personal Record* (London and Toronto: Jonathan Cape, 1931), p. 109.
17. From Bertrand Russell's *Journal 1902–05,* in a forthcoming volume of *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell,* ed. Kenneth Blackwell, Nicholas Griffin, Richard A. Rempel, etc.
18. For the story of Russell's relationship with the Eliots, see Robert H. Bell, "Bertrand Russell and the Eliots," *American Scholar* (Summer 1983).

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19. For a fine account of Lawrence's side of their relationship, see Paul Delany, *D. H. Lawrence's Nightmare: The Writer and His Circle in the Years of the Great War* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).
20. Richard Baxter, *The Autobiography, Being the Reliquiae Baxterianae,* ed. J. M. Lloyd Thomas (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1931), p. 103.
21. "Greek Exercises," in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell,* Vol. I, London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 21.
22. *Journal 1890–1894,* in *The Collected Papers,* Vol. I, p. 60.
23. "The Education of the Emotions," 1–2, forthcoming in *The Collected Papers.*
24. Ottoline Morrell to Bertrand Russell, February 1, 1932.
25. Ottoline Morrell to Bertrand Russell, February 9, 1932. With thanks to Carl Spadoni, Assistant Archivist of the Russell Archives, and to the editors of Russell's *Collected Papers.*

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ASHTON NICHOLS

JOYCEZSEASIDEGIRLS: Gretta, Bertha, Molly and Nora—All from Gibralway?

One woman winds her way through Joyce's work. Though she appears as three distinct fictional characters, this female figure remains remarkably unchanged from "The Dead" to *Ulysses*. Joyce once defended the obscurity of his later works by saying "If there is any difficulty in what I write it is because of the material I use . . . the thought is always simple."[1] One of these simple thoughts begins in the character of Gretta Conroy, is developed in Bertha Rowan, and finds its fullest statement in Molly Bloom. Behind each of Joyce's female characters lies a real woman without whom the fictional women cannot be understood. An analysis of these three characters and the woman who inspired them reveals the complex relationship between art and autobiography in Joyce. At the same time, such an analysis sheds a more general light on the relationship between artistic creation and the life of the artist.

Nora Barnacle was first courted by James Joyce on a memorable afternoon in June of 1904. Within a matter of months she had eloped to the continent with him, forced to break her own ties of family, church and country because her lover had chosen to break his. Later she would tell Maria Jolas, "You can't imagine what it was like for me to be thrown into the life of this man."[2] Nora came into Joyce's life less than a year after his mother's death. Apart from the female members of his family and prostitutes, she was the only woman to whom he had ever been close. In Joyce's mind, the simple, sensual girl from Galway became the subject of many of the imaginative transformations of

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experience that formed the basis of his fiction. The only autobiographical figure whom he would put to greater use was James Joyce.

In a 1912 essay on Blake, Joyce hinted at the personal and poetic origins of his relationship with Nora. "Like many other men of great genius," he wrote, "Blake was not attracted to cultured or refined women." Either Blake preferred the "simple woman, of hazy and sensual mentality, or, in his unlimited egotism, he wanted the soul of his beloved to be entirely a slow and painful creation of his own."[3] Joyce nowhere indicates which of these options most nearly characterized his relationship to Nora. But in a letter to her several years earlier he said "I have *enormous* belief in the power of a simple honorable soul. You are that."[4] Three years after the Blake essay, in *Exiles,* Joyce suggests Richard Rowan's role in the life of Bertha in just these terms. Robert Hand says to Rowan of Bertha, "She is yours, your work . . . you have made her all that she is."

This is not to suggest that there are not differences between Nora and Joyce's fictional women. Nor is it to suggest that there are not differences among Gretta, Bertha and Molly. One can, however, argue that Joyce learned most of what he knew about women from the woman with whom he lived for almost 40 years. It is inevitable that Nora would find her way into the work of a man who claimed to be transforming the details of his life into art. In Joyce's case, we find a particularly clear example of the tendency for a creative imagination to appropriate the materials of immediate experience for artistic purposes. A careful analysis of Joyce's female characters and their relationship to Nora reveals the details of this process in one of the foremost modern authors. Such an analysis also reveals that for Joyce, as for many artists, art becomes one way of resolving the conflicts and uncertainties of personal experience.

The first female character in Joyce's fiction to derive directly from Nora is Gretta Conroy, wife of Gabriel in "The Dead." We learn early in the story that Gabriel's mother has described Gretta as "country cute," a condescending phrase Gabriel clearly resents. When Miss Ivors asks innocently, "She's from Connacht, isn't she?" Gabriel snaps shortly, "Her people are" (205). But Gretta's own sympathies clearly lie in her homeland in the west of Ireland—"I'd love to see Galway again." Any doubts as to the biographical origins of this character are dispelled when Gabriel meditates on the weakness of language, "Why is it that words like these seem to me so dull and cold? Is it because there is no word tender enough to be your name?" (232). These lines are lifted almost word for word from a 1904 letter Joyce

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wrote to Nora. Later he made the connection explicit to her in another letter: "Do you remember the three adjectives I have used in *The Dead* in speaking of your body. They are these: 'musical and strange and perfumed'." (22 August 1909)

In Gabriel's powerful epiphanic vision of his wife on the stairs, Joyce reveals one of the ways life and learning can be transformed into art. The image is not only a description of Gabriel's transformed vision of his wife, but also of the way any artist, Joyce included, can turn details of his own experience into symbols. Seeing Gretta on the stairs, Gabriel thinks suddenly:

> There was a grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were a symbol of something. He asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to distant music, a symbol of . . . *Distant Music* he would call the picture if he were a painter. (227–28)

The vision is epiphanic because a truth has been made manifest. Equally important is Joyce's suggestion that this is one way symbols are created. Gretta, we should remember, *is* listening to distant music in her mind, to the long dead voice of Michael Furey singing "The Lass of Aughrim." The key phrase in Gabriel's meditation, the title *Distant Music,* derives from an essay of Pater's which describes the people on the canvasses of the painter Giorgione as listening to distant music. Joyce may have employed this refence to Giorgione because he found a connection between himself and the early sixteenth-century master. Vasari, in his *Lives of the Painters,* notes that Giorgione sang divinely and suffered poverty as a youth, biographical details shared by Joyce. Giorgione also caught the plague from a mistress he refused to leave.[5]

In this last fact about Giorgione, Joyce may well have found a parallel to Sonny Bodkin, the young Galway boy who died after aggravating his tuberculosis while courting Nora Barnacle. Bodkin appears in "The Dead" as Michael Furey, Gretta's "gentle boy," whom she says, "died for me."[6] What is interesting is the way Joyce takes facts about Giorgione and exploits them in different ways in the service of different characters. Joyce himself, throughout his life, was tormented by the thought of Nora's previous male admirers. He questioned her repeatedly about the smallest details of every physical and emotional liason. Just such questioning appears dramatically in *Exiles.* In "The Dead," the images of betrayal and competing lovers—only one of whom is alive—achieve a poetic intensity in Gabriel's final epiphany of falling snow. Gabriel and Joyce are the living; Furey and Bodkin are

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the dead. Living and dead are joined in a single image of snow, a snow that covers but in covering reveals a truth about Gabriel and his relationship to his wife. Once again, Joyce's sense of his relationship to the actual Bodkin, the boy who "died" for Nora, finds its clearest representation in an artistic symbol.

Toward the end of the story, Gabriel's carnal desires are powerfully contrasted with Gretta's purely romantic love for Furey. "So she had had that romance in her life: a man had died for her sake" (240). As he moves toward his confrontation with Furey's spectre, Gabiel thinks on Gretta and "moments of their secret life together burst like stars upon his memory" (231). Leopold Bloom will experience remarkably similar thoughts in the erotic details of the "Sirens" chapter of *Ulysses.* More generally, the evocation of this figure from the dead prefigures a theme that will be crucial in Joyce's later work. The climax of *Ulysses* comes only when Stephen sees the ghost of his mother, and when Bloom sees the ghost of his dead son, Rudy. Finnegan, too, will rise from the dead. Ghosts, those of his own life and those of his characters, haunt Joyce from beginning to end.

In Gretta's diction in "The Dead" we hear the first echoes of the voice that will become Molly Bloom: "He was in decline, they said, or something like that. I never knew rightly. . . . We used to go out together, walking, you know, Gabriel, like the way they do in the country. He was going to study singing for his health" (239). Like Molly, Gretta appears at the beginning of the story, is absent during most of the narrative, commits her "adultery" (by thinking of Furey), and reappears in bed in the climactic closing scene. Joyce is establishing a structural pattern that will serve him in the longer work. "The story," Ellmann says of "The Dead," "is a linchpin in Joyce's work. There is that basic situation of cuckoldry, real or putative, which is to be found throughout."[7]

It would be a mistake, however, to push the similarity between Gretta and Molly too far. Gretta displays none of Molly's humor, nor any of Molly's sense of the richness of life. We may assume that after spending years with Nora, Joyce's sense of the depth of her personality must have altered in similar ways. For Gretta, the past is dead until it is evoked by a chance rendering of an Irish ballad. For Molly, the past is almost as vivid as the present. This helps to account for the collapse of temporal references in her monologue. Nor is Gretta to be too closely identified with Nora. The suggestion that the earlier lover had died for her sake is purely Gretta's. There is no evidence to suggest any form of infidelity, physical or psychological, in Nora's life.

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Clearly, however, Joyce was obsessed by the idea at certain times. As a fictional character, the Gretta of "The Dead" does not receive sufficient development to be completely identified with anyone. In the story, a fictional woman combines with a detail from Nora Barnacle's past to become the vehicle of a new awareness on the part of Gabriel Conroy. The epiphany is Gabriel's. As readers we participate in the experience, but it is his vision that expands.

Gabriel's dread of the dead Furey leads toward a climax of identity which allows Gretta's husband to see himself in a new light. "Generous tears filled Gabriel's eyes. He had never felt like that himself towards any woman but he knew that such a feeling must be love" (241). Gabriel has been living in a kind of sin with his wife, making love to her but not loving her. Like Bloom, who will reaffirm his love for Molly precisely *because* of her infidelity, Gabriel sees the truth about himself only after Gretta raises the spectre of her long dead lover. The simple West Country woman has had a kind of love her urbane husband cannot even imagine. When he confronts the image of this love in her memory he is transformed. The isolated Gabriel finds a new vision of himself and his relation to others in his encounter with the dead. In a similar way, Joyce, like many artists, accommodates his "fears" of the dead Sonny Bodkin by transforming those fears into an artistic symbol.

In "The Dead," the adultery itself is symbolic; its consummation is a mental event. In *Exiles,* however, Joyce resurrects aspects of Furey/Bodkin in Robert Hand. In the ensuing triangle, Joyce's main character, Richard Rowan, encourages his wife's adultery in order to test its power over their relationship. Bertha Rowan of *Exiles* is the second fictional character to derive from Nora. Like Nora, Bertha was spirited away from her Irish homeland by a young rebel artist who sought a self-imposed exile.[8] "Everyone knows that you ran away years ago with a young girl," Hand tells Rowan, "with a young girl not exactly your equal." In Act III, Bertha admits the truth Nora Joyce never publically declared—"I gave up everything for him, religion family, my own peace." To Richard she protests like a modern Pygmalion, "Because I am simple you think you can do what you like with me." This sense of being dominated is unique among Joyce's female characters. Usually it is men who are dominated in Joyce's fictional world. Neither Gretta nor Molly share the feeling of being manipulated by their husband. Nora was likewise immune from intimidation. She was never overly impressed with Joyce's achievements, nor affected by the

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force of public opinion. When Richard refers to "me and Bertha and our goddless nameless child," Joyce is making a pointed, unveiled reference to Dublin gossip about his and Nora's unmarried state when Giorgio Joyce was born.

Perhaps the strangest scene in the play occurs when Joyce recalls his own incessant questioning of Nora's fidelity and produces a dialogue that has very little to do with the action of the drama. Richard requests, and receives, every detail of Bertha's first encounter with Robert Hand:

> B: *crumpling a handful of petals:* He kissed me.
> R: Your mouth?
> B: Once or twice.
> R: Long kisses?
> B: Fairly long. *Reflects.* Yes, the last time.
> R, *rubs his hands slowly; then:* With his lips? Or . . . the other way?
> B: Yes, the last time.
> R: Did he ask you to kiss him?
> B: He did.
> R: Did you? (563)

The dramatic justification for this conversation is difficult to understand. The infidelity is a forgone conclusion. But the dialogue bears a striking resemblance to Joyce's own queries to Nora regarding the men she had known before she met him.

> Did he touch you up behind? . . . Did he ask you to touch him and did you do so? . . . Did that boy you were fond of ever do it? (3 December 1909)

> You stood with him: he put his arm around you and you lifted your face and kissed him. What else did you do together? And the next night you met *me.* (6 August 1909)

Joyce's dread of Nora's infidelity was aggravated when Vincent Cosgrave falsely claimed to have had an affair with her. "Is Georgie my son?" Joyce writes. "I thought that all the time you gave yourself only to me and you were dividing your body between me and another" (7 August 1909). Paternity and cuckoldry: Joyce's themes are taking shape. Ellmann claims that Joyce "was turning his life to fiction at the same time that he was living it."[9] More important is the fact that Joyce found in his own experience analogues for the universal themes he was trying to convey. Sexual betrayal was just one such aspect of Joyce's

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mind, important not only for its own sake, but for its ability to provide a parallel for other forms of betrayal: the politcal betrayal of the spirit of Parnall in Ireland, or the artistic betrayal of writers and artists who refused to be true to the realistic details of their own experience. Joyce clearly suggests that such fidelity to one's own experience is necessary to the production of legitimate art.

As revealing in this context as *Exiles* itself are a series of notebooks for the play kept by Joyce during 1913. These notebooks elaborate imaginative connections that are only hinted at in the final drama. Bertha's unsophisticated mind, as described in these notes, sounds remarkably like Molly Bloom's. It is described as "a grey seamist amid which common objects—hillsides, the masts of ships and barren islands—loom with strange and yet recognizable outlines."[10] Bertha differs from Molly, however, in her feeling that she is at Richard's mercy. In this, Molly is more like the actual Nora, who never seems to have seen herself at the mercy of anyone. Elsewhere Joyce describes Bertha's soul at the moment when she is left alone in the cottage by Richard. "It is the soul of a woman left naked and alone that it may come to an undertanding of its own nature."[11] This concept of nakedness of soul will become central to Joyce's notion of personal identity in *Ulysses.* Such utter nakedness—beyond jealousy, possession or lust—will be one of the keys to the change that Bloom undergoes during his mundane, yet profound odyssey.

Joyce hints at the self realization involved in transcending the normal categories of human behavior when he says that Rowan aims for "the very immolation of the pleasure of possession on the altar of love."[12] Love is sullied by the notion of exclusive possession; it is tainted if self-concern demands exclusivity. This helps to explain why Joyce found the details of his own experience so central to his fiction. In his life, he found the paradox between true love and selfless love hard to reconcile. As Suzette Henke has noted, Joyce acknowledged the "absurdity of sexual obsession" and was "at once fascinated and repelled by the Catholic doctrine of conjugal possession."[13] In his art, however, this tension explains why Richard wants his wife to commit adultery; he wants to see if their love is strong enough to withstand such a strain. The identical paradox helps to account for Bloom's acceptance of Molly's strangely faithful infidelity. For Joyce, artistic transformations become one way of resolving such paradoxes in his own life.

In the context of the unique romantic triangle of *Exiles,* Joyce sug-

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gests the ways in which betrayal is related to self-definition. Richard says to Robert:

> in the very core of my ignoble heart I longed to be betrayed by you and by her—in the dark, in the night—secretly, meanly, craftily . . . I longed for that passionately and ignobly, to be dishonoured for ever in love and in lust . . . to be for ever a shameful creature and to build up my soul again out of the ruins of its shame. (583)

The husband longs to build up *his* own soul out of the ruins of its shame. This image is not of Leopold Bloom voyeuristically imagining Molly and Boylan together, but it does suggest a connection between shame and self-definition, between degradation and the establishment of an identity. This same dialectic, the degradation of self followed by the formation of a new self, is the fundamental movement in the "Circe" chapter of *Ulysses.* Once again, we see Joyce assuming that his own feelings of guilt and shame can be used to build up his own soul, and also a work of art.

The ability to overcome jealousy, the vagaries of particularity, and the desire for exclusivity: all beget a new awareness of self and the self's relationship to the object of love. The self becomes part of a cycle, not an isolated entity fixed in a particular time. By moving beyond his own experience into an art that relies on biographical information, Joyce extends his consciousness beyond its ordinary bounds. A similar projection allows Bertha, at the close of *Exiles,* to reaffirm her desire for Richard, the man who has arranged her betrayal. She gives herself to Robert only as Molly gives herself to Boylan. In the process she confirms her love for Richard and assures his unique primacy in her affections. In much the same way, Molly's closing monologue in *Ulysses* confirms her love for Bloom, not in spite of her adultery with Boylan, but because of it. Her afternoon encounter reveals that the woman knows what the man only half suspects; fidelity is a state of mind, not a state of body.

In *Exiles* we see developing the dialectic between sacred and profane, spiritual and degraded, exalted and obscene, which will characterize Joyce's attitude toward love in *Ulysses.* Robert says to Bertha, "If it were something fine and spiritual—with one person only—with one woman. And perhaps brutal too" (596). Elsewhere the describes a woman's finest qualities as

> the commonest . . . I mean how her body develops heat when it is pressed, the movement of her blood, how quickly she changes by diges-

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> tion what she eats into—what shall be nameless . . . perhaps that idea never struck you?
>
> Richard, drily: Many ideas strike a man who has lived nine years with a woman. (556)

Joyce had lived with Nora for nine years when he wrote *Exiles*. During the same period he had written an astonishing series of letters to her which expressed the dialectic between sacred and profane that he found embodied in women. These letters also express the whole range of ideas that could "strike a man." They have elicited much comment because of their intimate sexual and scatalogical content. "Time and again," writes Darcy O'Brien, "(Joyce) confesses what to him are brutal, bestial, obscene impulses; then he begs forgiveness by pointing toward a purer, more spiritual love."[14] But we oversimplify Joyce if, as O'Brien does, we interpret this commingling of spiritual and obscene as a mere holdover from the frustrations of a Jesuitical upbringing and a subsequent desire for defilement of the Virgin Mary.

The blending of high and low is one of the central structures of Joyce's mythic universe. It also suggests the relationship between the mundane details of daily life and the ideal to which the artist aspires, a relationship reflected in all of the parallels between biography and art in Joyce's work. These letters to Nora, no less than the imaginative transformations they undergo in Joyce's fiction, elaborate a dialectic and its resolution, both of which are crucial to his fictional technique. The women in Joyce's fiction, like the actual woman to whom he addressed these letters, become a symbol of balance and reconciliation, aligned neither with the soul-speculating Stephen nor with the organ-contemplating Bloom. She becomes a symbol of the "profane joy" first seen in Stephen's epiphany of the bird girl of Sandymount Strand. The central paradox of nature—that the contraries of spirit and matter can be "facets of the same entity"[15]—had first been made clear to Joyce in the philosophy of Giordano Bruno. For Joyce, woman becomes the vehicle of this balance of contraries. Bruno "provided Joyce with a philosophical basis for creating Molly both religious and amoral, an adulteress and a piously faithful Penelope."[16] But Joyce completed the imaginative leap on his own, in part by relying on his own experience with Nora Barnacle.

The use of art to resolve contradictions in the life of the artist is a mainstay of modernist aesthetics. Joyce is only one of many writers who creates, in part, in order to have control over those very areas of experience—birth, love, parenting, death—that seem most problem-

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atic. Conrad's "Heart of Darkness," Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers,* and Woolf's *To the Lighthouse,* for example, all employ biographical details from the author's life as central aspects of the narrative and then expand imaginatively in an effort to resolve conflicts and uncertainties. This tendency does not apply only to artists of the word. We need not look far into the lives of van Gogh, Gauguin, or Picasso to find examples of the same tendency in the visual arts. It is not simple that such artists employ what is close at hand as subject matter. Rather, the transformations worked by a creative imagination allow the artist to deal with those personal uncertainties that are most insistent and compelling. Often these transformations require a balancing of contrary details of experience.

Joyce saw Nora in exactly these terms long before he imagined Molly Bloom. "It is strange from what muddy pools the angels call forth the spirit of beauty," he wrote early in their courtship. The sentiment reminds us once again of the tree Igdrasil, cited by Joyce in his essay "Drama and Life," a tree "whose roots are struck in earth, but through whose higher leafage the stars of heaven are glowing and astir."[17] The terms in which Igdrasil is invoked have shifted slightly by 1909: "Are you too, then, like me, one moment higher than the stars, the next lower than the lowest wretches" (2 September 1909). Indeed, Joyce soon makes clear that the extremes he finds reconciled in Nora are extreme:

> I have taught you almost to swoon at the hearing of my voice singing or murmuring to your soul the passion and sorrow and mystery of life and at the same time have taught you to make filthy signs to me with your lips and tongue, to provoke me by obscene touches and noises, and even to do in my presence the most shameful and filthy act of the body . . . side by side and inside this spiritual love I have for you there is also a wild beast-like craving for every inch of your body, for every secret and shameful part of it, for every odour and act of it. (2 December 1909)

Joyce argues here, as in his fiction, that high and low are not as distinct as we might believe. Ellman claims that Joyce felt compelled "to set images of purity against images of impurity."[18] More than this, however, the Daedalean artificer sought to break down the distinction altogether.

Time and again in the 1909 letters Joyce alternates terms of spiritual adoration and mystical exaltation with detailed imaginings of carnal acts of every description: anal, oral and excremental. The "spirit of eternal beauty and tenderness" in Nora's eyes is transformed in a single sentence into the image of a "hog riding a sow," a beast with two

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backs glorying in "stink and sweat" (2 December 1909). "One moment I see you like a virgin or madonna, the next moment I see you shameless, insolent, half naked and obscene" (2 September 1909). These letters did serve as masturbatory enticements to the parted lovers. They also reveal Joyce's remarkable willingness to describe every detail of his own thoughts. But they shock primarily because they reveal a level of intimacy between husband and wife that is rarely made the object of public scrutiny. Their importance to us lies not in this intimacy, but in the way it reveals a number of ideas that were to be thoroughly explored in *Ulysses*.

There is little doubt that the relationship between Bloom and Molly derives directly from Joyce's relationship to Nora. Molly makes direct fictional reference to the 1909 letters more than once:

> then he wrote me that letter with all those words in it how could he have the face to any woman after (746–47)

> him and his mad crazy letters my Precious one eveything connected with your glorious Body everything underlined that comes from it is a thing of beauty and of joy for ever something he got out of some nonsensical book (771)

Molly, like Nora, has no interest whatsoever in anything her husband has written. Like Nora, she has only a grammar school education and cares nothing for books. Nora once asked Joyce why he wasted so much paper. It is doubtful whether she ever read *Ulysses*.[19] But Nora, like Molly, had a surprising "gift for concentrated, pungent expression, and Joyce delighted in it as much as Bloom did. Like Molly she was anti-intellectual; and like Molly she was attached to her husband without being awestruck."[20]

Once again, however, we go too far if we suggest that Molly is merely a fictional representation of Nora. More than either Gretta or Bertha, we derive a sense of a fully developed and unique individual in Molly. Nora was small and slight; Molly is large and buxom. Molly's Spanish eyes are hers alone, as are her laziness, her love of pornography and her ambiguous feelings about her daughter. Molly accepts Bloom with all of his peculiarities and perversions in a way that Nora never seems to have accepted Joyce. This suggests one way the artist uses his characters as a form of wish fulfillment. Molly is a part of ideal woman, rather than a fictionalized description of any actual woman. Numerous authors had appropriated actual figures from their lives into novels: Joyce is more subtle in his transformations of Nora.

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For Molly serves a complex artistic role in this modern *Odyssey;* she must be at once Calypso and Penelope, the seductress and the faithful wife. Nora may have been the ore, but Joyce forged this raw material in the smithy of his soul to create Molly, a part of the conscience of his race.

Critical disagreement about Molly derives partly from the deceptive simplicity of her character. Joyce hinted at the profound depth of this kind of simplicity—and at the secret of all his heroines—when Richard says to Bertha in *Exiles,* "there is something wiser than wisdom in your heart."[21] Molly, as Marilyn French has pointed out, is neither goddess nor whore.[22] Critics have tended to see her as one or the other, or both, because Joyce tends to at one and the same time mythologize her as a deity (Gea-Tellus) and then describe her as an insatiable sloven. In fact, Molly breaks down this distinction and reconciles these opposite poles of meaning by existing in a middle ground. Like the mythic tree Igdrasil, she reaches through the mire of a fallen world into the ideal that is heaven. Molly's defining characteristic is her humanness. In her, as so often in *Ulysses,* the sacred is profaned at the same moment that the profane is being sacramentalized. Joyce, as the 1909 letters reveal, assumes that opposite aspects of love can be reconciled in a woman. He demanded all aspects of love from Nora and she complied. In confirming his assumption, she provided details that found their way into the character of Molly Bloom.

Although Molly's preoccupations are predominately worldly, she is not totally without a spiritual conception of love. Describing Bloom's early love-making she says, "I liked the way he made love then he knew the way to take a woman . . . the night he kissed my heart at Dolphins barn I couldn't describe it simply makes you feel like nothing on earth" (747). This is not the language of spiritual rapture, but Molly does in her inimitable way indicate an emotion that transcends the mundane. Joyce never wavers from his policy of restricting his stylistic innovations to those that can be expected from the mind of a particular speaker. When Molly praises a love letter she does so in the highest terms available to her: "it fills up your whole day and life always something to think about every moment and see it around you like a new world" (758).

Those who have tried to reduce Molly to the level of a bedwarming slut have failed to acknowledge the central truth of her character. This failure may be the result of Joyce's success in rendering Molly's simplicity in simple terms. Her profundity has often been overlooked. Molly's pastoral longings, for example, are, on her terms, an exalted

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moment of pure contemplation, as pure in their own way as anything in Virgil:

> God in heaven theres nothing like nature the wild mountains then the sea and the waves rushing then the beautiful country with fields of oats and wheat and all kinds of things and all the fine cattle going about that would do your heart good to see rivers and lakes and flowers all sorts of shapes and smells and colours springing up even out of the ditches primroses and violets nature it is (781–82)[23]

Nature, like Joyces's own life, proves that the ditches can give rise to beauty. This passage ends with an agnostic statement that is as close to theology as Molly ever comes, "as for them saying theres no God I wouldnt give a snap of my two fingers for all their learning why dont they go create something" (782). This is Molly's diction, but it is theology. Man goes and creates, or tries to, says Molly, all the while ignoring the essence of the creation that is around him. The sentiment helps to explain Joyce's preoccupation with the details of his own experience, details that can become the means to an artistic creation. Stephen Daedalus, and to a lesser extent Bloom, stand to learn an important lesson from this deceptively simple meditation by Molly. Joyce learned the lesson well and used it to write *Ulysses.*

But Molly is no goddess either. If we see her too exclusively as Gea-Tellus, the earth mother, womb of us all, a sacred shrine of fertility, it becomes impossible to appreciate the obscene side of her character in all its human richness. Part of Bloom's achievement in the course of the novel is his increasing ability to share in the balance that has been achieved by Molly. Bloom is clearly more of an intellectual than his wife, but his ability to glory in the mundane is no less acute. The difference is that Bloom does so imaginatively, while Molly does so in actuality. A parallel might easily be drawn between Joyce and Nora in this regard. Her letters to him indicate an imagination that is lived rather than transformed into art.

Bloom imagines intercourse with the cripple Gerty MacDowell and although his masturbation is corporeal, his "adultery" is a purely mental event. Meanwhile, Molly commits physical adultery with Boylan, but in the process confirms the non-physical aspect of her love for Bloom. "Its hard for me to believe in it though unless it really happened to me," Molly says early in her monologue. For Bloom, events are hard to believe until they occur in the mind. Molly's actions help Bloom to realize the need for a new kind of acceptance. Bloom changes in *Ulysses,* but Molly remains the same.

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Like Joyce in his letters to Nora, Bloom finds the imagination to be the richest source of his experience. As Lionel Trilling notes, to "a reader of *Ulysses* nothing in the substance of these letters comes as a surprise. All the fantasies are familiar to us through . . . Leopold Bloom."[24] Bloom possesses the ability to imaginatively reconcile sacred and profane because Molly helps to make him into "a finished example of the new womanly man" (493). Henke sees this womanliness as part of the motivating force behind Joyce's, and Lawrence's, fiction. Both writers, Henke says, "conceal beneath prodigious literary creations a masculine terror of sexual failure. They use art to compensate for their own 'man-womanliness' to 'hide themselves from themselves'."[25]

Nowhere does this become more apparent than in "Circe," where Bloom's images of woman are revealed as phantasmagoric aspects of his own psyche. Bella Cohen is a "powerful being" in whose clutches Bloom experiences the degradation of masochist pleasure. Under her spell he becomes a pig of his own making. But in less than a page he is praising the womanly charms of a young nymph: "Your classic curves, beautiful immortal. I was glad to look on you, to praise you, a thing of beauty, almost to pray" (546). Bloom finds one kind of reconciliation of the two extremes in Cissy Caffrey, who he invokes in the terms of praise that characterize his attitude in "Oxen of the Sun": "You are the link between nations and generations. Speak, woman, sacred life-giver" (597). Woman participates in aspects of existence that man, left to his own devices, is denied. To be most fully human, man must become a new womanly man. For Joyce, the imagination becomes the means to this transformation. The artist participates in masculinity and femininity and becomes more fully human in the process. Joyce learned this lesson from his life with Nora.

Joyce's most complete statement of the relationship between woman and the cycles of history occurs as Bloom is climbing into bed. Sensing Boylan's impression on the mattress he suddenly realizes that

> each one who enters imagines himself to be the first to enter whereas he is always the last term of a preceding series even if the first term of a succeeding one, each imagining himself to be the first, last, only and alone, whereas he is neither first nor last nor only nor alone in a series originating in and repeated to infinity. (731)

Each man who "enters" (Joyce's syntax suggests "a woman" or "the world") sees himself as unique, but he is mistaken. In fact, each person is one member of an endless series of all of the individuals who have

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ever existed. As a symbol, woman possesses a unique position for Joyce because of her "antiquity in preceding and surviving successive tellurian generations" (702). With this remarkable bit of imaginative logic, Joyce's own obsession with Nora's fidelity is transmuted into a defence of the cyclic notion of history. No one of us is the first; we are all part of a series of lives.

For the artist, the possibility of surviving "successive tellurian generations" is vouchsafed through the "virgin womb of the imagination." The phrase is essential to any understanding of Joyce's aesthetic credo. In 1912 he wrote to Nora, describing *Portrait* as "the book I have written, the child which I have carried for years and years in the womb of the imagination, as you carried in your womb the children you love" (21 August 1912). Shelley sensed the same connection long before Joyce. In *A Defence of Poetry* he wrote, "a great statue or picture grows under the power of the artist as a child in the mother's womb." Joyce adopts the image almost word for word. Art is like a developing fetus; the materials of the conception (experience) grow and develop in the womb (imagination) to become a new life—"to recreate life out of life."

As Stephen Dedalus, Joyce had the aesthetic theory he needed to write a great novel, but in order to write *Ulysses* he had to become Leopold Bloom. As Stephen he knew only a rational, disembodied half of the world; he knew only the male side of life. His image of woman was derived from a mother who possessed him and prostitutes who relieved his body while tormenting his guilt-ridden mind. In 1904, however, the transformation began: "O Nora! Nora! Nora! I am speaking now to the girl I loved, who had red brown hair and sauntered over to me and took me so easily in her arms and made me a man" (7 August 1909). Nora may have made Joyce into a man in one sense, but in his role as an artist she made him into something more important, a new womanly man. She made him more human by letting him see, for the first time, what it was actually like to *be* a woman. Gretta, Bertha and Molly all testify to this process. Joyce sets Bloom's odyssey on June 16, 1904, the day when James Joyce and Nora Barnacle first walked out together in Dublin. As they saw Dublin through two sets of eyes, so Joyce sees Dublin through two sets of eyes. Bloomsday is more than a sentimental tribute to the woman Joyce knew best. It is his debt paid back to Nora, the woman who turned Joyce as Stephen Dedalus into Joyce as Leopold Bloom.

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NOTES

All references to *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* "The Dead," and *Exiles* are from the Penguin Portable James Joyce edited by Harry Levin. All refences to *Ulysses* are from the Random House edition of 1961.

1. Harry Levin, *James Joyce* (New York: New Directions Books, 1941), p. 134.
2. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 165. Hereafter referred to as "Ellmann."
3. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce,* ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellman (New York: The Viking Press, 1959), p. 217.
4. *Selected Letters of James Joyce,* ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), p. 167. Subsequent references to letters give only dates.
5. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters* (London: J. M. Dent Sons, Ltd., 1927), Vol. II, pp. 168–172.
6. Ellmann notes the connection between Furey and Bodkin in the new edition of his biography of Joyce. See *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 243.
7. Ellmann, pp. 261–62.
8. Joyce's notion of this kind of artistic exile derives from Flaubert who said, "At the present time I believe that a thinker (and what is an artist if not a triple thinker) should have no religion, no country, nor even any social conviction." See *The Workshop of Daedalus,* Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain, (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 248. To Nora, Joyce wrote early in their courtship, "My mind rejects the whole present social order and Christianity—the recognized virtues, classes of life, and religious doctrines" (29 August 1904).
9. Ellmann, p. 154.
10. Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain, *Joyce: The Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 143.
11. Magalaner and Kain, p. 142.
12. Magalaner and Kain, p. 140.
13. Suzette A. Henke, *Joyce's Moraculous Sindbook: A Study of Ulysses* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978), p. 227. Henke also notes Joyce's "private fears of sexual betrayal" and points out that Molloy was "preconceived and brought forth under the aegis of Nora Joyce."
14. Darcy O'Brien, "Some Psychological Determinates of Joyce's View of Love and Sex," in *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 17.
15. Ellmann, *Ulysses on the Liffey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 54.
16. Joseph C. Voelker, " 'Nature it is': The Influence of Giordano Bruno on James Joyce's Molly Bloom," *James Joyce Quarterly,* 14:1 (Fall 1976), 39–49.
17. *Critical Writings,* p. 45.
18. Introduction to *Selected Letters,* xxv.
19. Ellmann, p. 540.
20. Ellmann, p. 387.
21. Joyce hinted that this simplicity had a wider application when he wrote to Nora,

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"Can you not see the simplicity which lies at the back of all my disguises? We all wear masks." (29 August 1904)

22. Marilyn French, *The Book as World: James Joyce's Ulysses* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 256.
23. Henke reprints the closing lines of Molly's monologue as lines of verse in order to confirm their lyrical quality.
24. "James Joyce in his Letters," in *Joyce: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. William M. Chace (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 163.
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PHYLLIS E. WACHTER

Bibliography of Works About Life-Writing for 1984

> "Who controls the past," ran the Party slogan, "controls the future: who controls the present controls the past" (Orwell 32).

In *1984,* Orwell realized all too well the important role which autobiography and oral history, in particular, played in perpetuating human integrity. This preoccupation with preserving the past has led to many conferences ("Remembering Our Foremothers," Institute of Women Today, Chicago 19–21 April 1985; "International Symposium on Autobiography and Autobiography Studies," Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge 21–23 March 1985: and the upcoming "The Past Meets the Present: A Symposium on Oral History," Baylor University, 7–8 October 1985).

Today's champion of the personal past is a new kind of biographer-editor who attempts to rediscover the lives of minority writers with the intention of introducing their works into the literary canon. To those who would question the advisability of bringing the lives and writings of lesser known or virtually unknown figures within the context of the mainstream, comes the challenge offered by critics like Gilbert and Gubar (*The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women: The Tradition in English.* New York: Norton,1985).

The Orwellian necessity for preserving the personal past has prompted Ph.D. candidates and their advisors to pursue a range and variety of life-writing studies using new instruments of investigation. It augurs well for the future.

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Reviews

The following review, as part of an ongoing policy of Biography, *examines significant books which appear in a foreign language. (Review Editor).*

On the eve of Martin Luther's 500th birthday in 1983, more than thirty biographies appeared new or were reprinted for the German market, in East and West Germany. They are listed below in chronological order from 1981 to 1983. When an English version is available, it is added in parenthesis after the German original. Three of the most unusual biographies will be taken into consideration more closely because of their originality, and they are not available in English so far. The first one may be labeled "Marxist," the second one "Lutheran"; both works stem from East Germany. The third one will be "Catholic," i.e., written by a Roman Catholic author.

In 1981, two years before the big birthday celebrations, more than half a dozen biographies were published:

MARTIN BRECHT. *Martin Luther: sein Weg zur Reformation 1483–1521.* Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1981; 2nd printing, 1982. 527pp. (*Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation 1483–1521.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984)

JOHANNES BROSSEDER. "Martin Luther (1483–1546)," *Klassiker der Theologie I,* ed. by Heinrich Fries and Georg Kretschmar. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981, pp. 283–313.

WILFRIED JOEST. "Martin Luther", *Die Reformationszeit. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, 5,* ed. by M. Greschat. Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer, 1981, pp. 129–186.

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WOLFGANG LANDGRAF. *Martin Luther: Reformator und Rebell: Biografie.* Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1981 (reprint 1982). 344pp.

HANNS LILJE. *Martin Luther: in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten.*

ROWOHLTS MONOGRAPHIEN 98. REINBEK: ROWOHLT, 1981 (FIRST PRINTING, 1965). 153PP.

BERNHARD LOHSE. *Martin Luther: eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk.*

BECKSCHE ELEMENTARBÜCHER. MUNICH: C. H. BECK, 1981 (2ND REVISED EDITION, 1982, REPRINT 1983). 252PP.

MICHAEL MEISNER. *Martin Luther: Heiliger oder Rebell?* Lübeck: Verlag Schmidt-Rombild, 1981. 327 pp.; revised edition: Munich, Zurich: Droemer Knaur, 1982, reprint 1983. 304 pp.

HEIKO A. OBERMAN. LUTHER: *Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel.* Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1981; 2nd revised edition, 1983. 384 pp.

Approaching the anniversary, the number of biographies increased. In 1982 there were more than a dozen Luther-biographies available in addition to the ones from the previous year:

WOLFGANG BEUTIN. *Der radikale Doktor Martin Luther: ein Streit- und Lesebuch.* Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1982. 222 pp.

HELLMUT DIWALD. *Luther: eine Biographie.* Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe Verlag, 1982. 384 pp.

HELLMUT DIWALD AND KARL HEINZ JURGENS. *Lebensbilder Martin Luthers. Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe Verlag, 1982. 240 pp. 250 illustrations.*

HUMBERT FINK. *Martin Luther: der widersprüchliche Reformator.* Munich: Molden Seewald, 1982. 286 pp.

WERNER FLÄSCHENDRÄGER. *Martin Luther.* Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1982 (first printing 1967). 91 pp. 63 illustrations.

RICHARD FRIEDENTHAL. *Luther: sein Leben und seine Zeit.* Munich, Zurich: Piper, 7th printing, 1982. 680 pp. 38 illustrations. (*Luther: His Life and Times.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1970; translated from the 1967 edition).

HERBERT IMMENKÖTTER. "Der Reformator Martin Luther," *Die fromme Revolte: Ursachen - Faktoren - Folgen von Luthers Reformation,* ed. by H. Immenkötter. St. Ottitlien: EOS, 1982, pp. 43–84.

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ALFRED LÄPPLE. *Martin Luther: Leben, Bilder, Dokumente.* Munich, Zurich: Delphin; Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1982. 287 pp. Illustrations.

WALTHER VON LOEWENICH. *Martin Luther. Der Mann und das Werk.* Munich: List, 1982. 432 pp. (*Martin Luther: The Man and His Work.* Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1983).

PETER MANNS AND HELMUT NILS LOOSE. *Martin Luther: die grosse Bildbiographie zum 500. Geburtstag mit einem Vorwort von Bischof D. Eduard Lohse.* Freiburg, Basel, Vienna,: Herder; Lahr: Ernst Kaufmann, 1982. 224 pp. 96 illustrations. (*Martin Luther: An Illustrated Biography;* introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan. New York: Crossroad, 1982. 223 pp.)

HANS MAYER. *Martin Luther: Leben und Glaube.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1982. 320 pp. Illustrations.

JOACHIM ROGGE. *Martin Luther: sein Leben, seine Zeit, seine Wirkungen. Eine Bildbiographie.* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1982. 391 pp. 544 Illustrations.

DIETRICH STEINWEDE. *Martin Luther: Leben uns Wirken des Reformators 1483–1546.* Lahr: Ernst Kaufmann; Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1982. 15 pp.

During the anniversary year of 1983, again more than a dozen new biographies were published:

GERHARD BOTT, GERHARD EBELING, BERND MOELLER, EDS., Jutta Zander-Seidel, illustration editor, photographs by Hermann Michels, produced by Willy Fleckhaus. *Martin Luther: sein Leben in Bildern und Texten.* Einführung von Gerhard Ebeling. Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1983. 344 pp. 291 illustrations.

GERHARD EBELING. *Martin Luthers Weg und Wort.* Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1983. 100 pp.

HEINRICH FAUSEL. *D. Martin Luther: Leben und Werk 1483–1521,* ed. by Wolfgang Metzger (Calwer Lutherausgabe, vol. 11). Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1983 (4th edition). 211 pp.

HORST HERRMANN. *Martin Luther: Ketzer wider willen.* Munich: C. Bertelsmann, 1983. 448 pp.

HELMAR JUNGHANS, ED. *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546. Festgabe zu seinem 500. Geburtstag.* Im Auftrag des Theologi-

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schen Arbeitskreises für Reformationsgeschichtliche Forschung. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983. Two volumes. 1089 pp. Illustrations.

JOHANNES MITTERLE AND JO PESTUM. *Martin Luther: Rebell gegen Kaiser und Kirche.* Illustrations by Isolde Goldberg. Munich, Vienna, Hollywood, Florida: Schneider, 1983. 154 pp.

ERWIN MÜLHAUPT. "MARTIN LUTHER: MENSCH UND CHRIST," *Luther. Zeitschrift der Luthergesellschaft* 54 (1983), pp. 9–41.

HANS JÜRGEN NURKEIT. *Martin Luther: Stationen eines Lebensweges.* Photographs by Wolfgang Schönborn and Klaus G. Beyer. Ed. by Martin-Luther-Komitee der DDR. Leipzig: Seemann, 1983.

GERHARD RITTER. *Luther: Gestalt und Tat.* Stuttgart; Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1983 (7th printing). 227 pp.

F. SONNTAG. *Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland. Versuch eines geschichtlichen Entwurfs anhand der Quellen.* Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 1983.

STAATLICHE ARCHIVVERWALTUNG DER DDR, ED. *Martin Luther 1483–1546: Dokumente aus staatlichen Archiven und anderen wissenschaftlichen und kulturellen Einrichtungen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Im Jahre des 500. Geburtstages Martin Luthers mit Unterstützung des Martin-Luther-Komitees.* Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1983. 438 pp. Illustrations.

DIETRICH STEINWEDE. *Reformation - Martin Luther: ein Sachbilderbuch zur Kirchengeschichte.* Lahr: Ernst Kaufmann; Freiburg: Christophorus, 1983. 55 pp. Illustrations.

GERHARD WEHR. *Martin Luther: mystische Erfahrung und christliche Freiheit im Widerspruch.* Schaffhausen: Novalis, 1983. 279 pp.

GERT WENDELBORN. *Martin Luther: Leben und reformatorisches Werk.* Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1983, 499 pp.

HEINZ ZAHRNT. *Martin Luther in seiner Zeit für unsere Zeit.* Illustrations by Hans Dollinger. Ulm: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1983. 259 pp. 278 illustrations.

Each of the listed works, of course, deserves careful consideration. However, the lack of space makes a selection necessary. The first one

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to be taken closer into consideration is the one edited by the East-German national archives' administration, because it presents unique documents from the state's archives and other scientific and cultural institutions of the German Democratic Republic (DDR). This "official" Luther biography is remarkable because of its wealth of documents reproduced in excellent quality, and surprisingly (or not) because the ideological terminology is toned down considerably, in comparison, for instance, to W. Landgraf's *Biografie,* which is permeated with references to Friedrich Engels' interpretation of Luther's life. Whoever is looking for the historical, social, economic context of Luther's life and work—and whoever overlooks the occasional ideological references—will find in this work a wealth of materials. Especially the introductions to the four parts describe this context. Part 1 deals with the situation on the eve of the Reformation 1483–1517, including an analysis of the "early capitalist economy", the "urban class struggles", and the "feudal agriculture". The reader who is religiously and theologically orientated will miss the thematization of Luther's so-called "tower-experience" (i.e. the time and place of Luther's reformational insight, discovered in the Bible, that the sinner's justification before God is by faith alone) which caused so much controversy among the non-Marxist Luther researchers. This is understandable because the biography is guided by source materials, and this "tower experience" is not on record like a pamphlet. Part 2 covers the time from Luther's 95 theses (1917) to the defeat of the peasants (1926). Here again, the economic aspect of the trade with indugences, for instance, is placed in the foreground at the beginning of this part. Luther's two sermons on usury of 1519 and 1520 are listed among the most significant reformational works. Thomas Müntzer's reforms are called "folks-reformational" *(volksreformatorisch).* Whether there is a distinction intended by the differing terminology of "anti-reformational" and "counter-reformational" is not quite clear. In Part 3 the economic developement in the cities and in the countryside is dealt with including the presentation of the secularization of ecclesiastical property, also the cultural context is taken into consideration here. The most personal section within this social historical biography is found in this part, which deals with Luther and his wife, their household, property etc. Unfortunately, Luther's polemical work against the papacy in Rome of 1545 is understood by the authors as an attack against the Catholic Church as such (see chapter 4 in part 3). Here, the theologian would have liked a more differentiated presentation. Part 4 is "biographical" only insofar as the effects and the history of effectiveness of the person is considered as

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part of any biography, because in this final part the events after Luther's death are dealt with, from the Smalcaldic War to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. In this last part one finds the term "princes' reformation" *(Fürstenreformation)* in contrast to "folks' reformation." Any future comprehensive biography which would want to integrate both social history and theology, will have to consult this standard work for the social historical context of Luther's religious reformation.

The second work to be scrutinized in more detail also comes from East Germany. The research team of the theological working group for Reformation research with its 42 contributors under the leadership of Helmar Junghans (Leipzig) produced a Church historical biography of the "old Luther", i.e, highlighting the last twenty years of Luther's life (1526–46). It is noteworthy that both East-German works, the mentioned "official" one and this ecclesiastical one, make a significant incision in Luther's life with the year 1526, while in contrast the late, but influential Heinrich Bornkamm preferred to deal with Luther's mid-life from 1521 to 1530/32 in his momumental work on the "middle Luther", *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1530,* edited and with a foreword by Karin Bornkamm, translated by Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. 709 pp.). Future Luther research will demonstrate which of the concepts will prevail—Bornkamm's "mid-career" concept, or the concept of the "young" and "old" with the cut made by the year 1526. The collective work of the 42 scholars represents the state of the theological and Church historical research on the last 20 years of Luther's life, and thus, the possible misunderstanding of the old Luther as being a senile, isolated, and frustrated professor is definitely being corrected. The overture in this work is given by the editor, Junghans, himself with his contribution on "Luther in Wittenberg" after 1525 when Frederick the Wise had died. The following ten contributions are primarily theological by nature. For Luther, the beginning and end of all thought must be God. His understanding of God is expressed for instance in his sermons on 1 John (1532) in contrast to the "icy cold" discussions of God by the Scholastics. Correspondingly, Luther's concept of man is theological also, quite distinct from the philosophical tradition. Man's faith and love are not qualities in the heart, but are present in the heart because Christ who is our righteousness sits there. Luther's theology is really an applied Christology elaborated in his interpretations of Scriptures. Christ is both human and divine, the two natures united in one person. Where Christ is, Moses must go. Christ's victory over Satan was possible only because he was divine. The framework for Luther's Christology is the

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theology of the cross. The Reformer's doctrine of the Church is biblically orientated. There is only one congregation of faithful on earth but two churches, the faithful congregation and the "synagogue of the papists and Thomists." After 1527, Luther began to react to the anabaptist movement; he clarified his understanding of baptism. He declared that the anabaptist leaders deserved the death penalty. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper rejected the Roman mass as sacrifice on the one side and had to maintain the understanding of the real presence against other Reformers. The problem of confession and penance was dealt with by Luther as the question of the power of the keys. He valued private confession and understood absolution as consolation. While he did not speak of the sacramentality of absolution in 1525, he did so in 1545. Luther's comment that marriage is a worldly business (1529) was meant for the simple pastors, not for the theologians, and must be understood in the context of old Germanic laws and customs. In his later years he used strong words against canon lawyers, and attacked the faculty at the law school of Wittenberg because they were still teaching canon law and were denigrating Scripture. In 1527 the first antinomian controversy (i.e. the debate over the function of the Law) revolved around Agricola's theology. Luther always maintained the distinction of Law and Gospel. During the second controversy in 1537 Luther confiscated Agricola's ready-for-print manuscript. In 1540, Luther compared the dangers of Antinomianism with the threat posed by Arius, Eutyches, and Nestorius. Luther's theological ethics is grounded in his theology of justifying faith. The sources of moral decision making are the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, discipleship, and other biblical motifs. God's Word must be recognized as decisive in the moral decisions. After these systematic contributions, our Church historical biography focuses on Luther as shepard of souls *(Seelsorger)* and preacher. He took on the tole as counselor to depressive characters. The "spirit of sadness" is understood as being Satanic. The central pastoral task is preaching Christ. The Postilles he wrote were intended to assist pastors in their preaching duty, rather than to foster their laziness. Then, Luther's roles as both theoretician of translation and as a practicing translator are examined. His translation of the Bible was determined by his theology. He preferred the matter *(res)* to the words *(verba).* In a second contribution on Luther as translator it is pointed out that Luther by profession was primarily a professor of the Old Testament. When interpreting the New Testament he found no need to apply the allegorical method of interpretation. When he expounded the four Gospels, he did so under the

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influence of Paul. He was well aware of the difficulties of making Hebrew authors for instance speak German: "it is like forcing a nightingale to imitate a cuckoo!" The next three contributions deal with Luther at prayer, at worship, and with Luther's hymnal. Then, we learn about Luther's eschatology, which for Luther always meant the coming Last Judgment as to be understood as the happy salvation for the faithful. Judgment according to the works comes to the foreground since 1530. But before God, faith counts, before men, works count. Luther made himself known also as an educator. He demanded that the Bible be taught in the elementary schools. In 1530 he published his sermon "That Children should be Sent to School." The second half of this biography (chapters 20–41) shows Luther "in relations": to the Empire and to Rome, to Melanchthon and other friends, to the peasants, to other reform minded people in Central Europe, to the Jews, to art and artists, to the princes and to other German territories and cities, to the citizens and to the nobility; to other nations, especially to the Bohemian Brethren, to Hungary and Romania, to the Turks, to France, England and Scandinavia. The final chapter provides a guide to sources and means of Luther studies. Without exaggerating it is safe to say that this biography of the old Luther will probably be the standard work for some time. The very fact that 42 scholars were engaged in the research of Luther's last 20 years indicates the immense difficulties of writing a complete biography of his whole life. One may hope that some day this work will be translated into the English language.

From about the half dozen Catholic Luther-biographies I want to draw attention to two. One is already internationally known, and also available in English and in French; it is the one by Peter Manns and Helmut Nils Loose, essentially a pictoral biography of exceptional value, and written in an ecumenical spirit as the preface by a Lutheran Bishop testifies. Since this one is widely known and does not need to be praised again here, I would like to spend the rest of the available space on another work by a Catholic scholar who is also a canon lawyer, which makes his Luther-biography particularly interesting: Horst Herrmann has written on Luther's life under the title "heretic against his own will", an indication of the complexity of the enterprise as such. While Catholic Luther-biographers tend to speak of Luther as a rebel and revolutionary (see for instance Meisner and Diwald's works), Herrmann along with Manns and Brosseder avoid this classification. Herrmann presents to us the biography of a "successful heretic", by dividing Luther's life into three parts. Fist, the years of desperate

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hope, explaining the education he received, and his decision to enter a monastery. This entry must no longer be understood as a sudden impulsive decision but rather a longer lasting process of deliberations. Thus, the popular comparison with St. Paul's conversion at Damascus it put aside. Luther's journey to Rome in 1510/11 is seen with the eyes of a traveling German intellectual criticizing the Italian lifestyle. In his reflections upon "Luther's great heresy" (man as simultaneous saint and sinner), he suggests that the expression "tower experience" should be avoided altogether because the years 1513–19 should be seen as a unit and the great insight of the Reformation should not be identified with a single experience on the toilet seat in the tower of the Wittenberg monastery. Part 2 describes (also in ten chapters) the political context, the Church political situation and the reformational challenges: the more Luther's enemies raged, the more he went ahead. Therefore, Luther delivered his sermon on excommunication in the presence of informers of whom he was aware of, and who sent reports to Rome. Luther rejected the accusation of being heretical. In 1519 the curia of Rome made an offer to make Luther a cardinal. This affair is well explained by the author in its ecclesiastical and political context of the up-coming election of a new emperor. Rare quotations are found in the passage on Luther and his relationship to Rome, such as: "The pope is a cuckoo who devours the eggs of the Church and shits out cardinals." The canon law is called (by the biographer) a "book of violence" and illustrated by an appropriate sentence in Luther-German. Part 2 concludes with the description of Luther's translation of the Greek and Hebrew Bible. As only a canon lawyer could make us aware of it, he points out that in Luther's days, unauthorized Bible translations were associated with heresy. Part 3 deals with the sects in Wittenberg, as Luther saw them, with the Reformer's peace sermons there, and with his self-designation as an "evangelist". He continues with the problems the peasants created, the controversy with Erasmus and Zwingli; Herrmann, then deals with his marriage and family life. Here, the author demonstrates his exceptional expertise in regard to the late medieval wedding arrangements. Luther's marriage is interpreted (probably with right) as a "temper tantrum against the Devil." Furthermore, we find references scarcely found in other biographies, such as on original sin which Luther compared with a man's beard which grows again over night, although it was shaved the day before and the face was smooth around the mouth. "This growth of hair does not stop as long as a man lives; in the same way original sin remains in us, but one must resist it and cut such hair again and again." (p. 398).

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Another example of Luther's orginality and language is given on Christ, "the little worm." "Thus, the Lord Christ is also to be viewed as a little worm, Psalm 22, i.e. a lowly and miserable man. He has a weak and mortal body, but he has a hard little snout or little beak, which is a divine power and might, be which he overcomes sin, death, law, Devil, and hell" (p. 302). There is a mulitude of other picturesque phrases, of course, which makes this biography worthwhile reading. The only disadvantage for the scholarly minded reader is the fact that this edition (apparently aimed at a wider audience) does not provide any notes in regard to the quoted sources. The book would have greatly increased in scholarly value if these notes were provided. Perhaps if a translation is ever made of this book, the publisher will insist on adding the critical apparatus.

In summation we must say that the scholarly work which produced more than thirty biographies of Martin Luther (on almost 10,000 pages) will have to be digested first before one claims new insights. The fact that a substantial contribution to Luther research is made not only by Lutheran scholars, but by Catholics and Marxists as well, will guarantee that the dialogue between the different representatives will continue. What Marxist biographers get out of Luther research is yet to be seen. What Catholic biographers learned from Luther studies so far tends to result in the view of Luther as being a "father in faith" (not a father of faith), and a *doctor communis.*

FRANZ POSSET
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PETER ACKROYD, *T. S. Eliot.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984. 400 pp. £12.50.

Every biographer knows a dozen horror stories of irreplaceable documents destroyed by heirs, more often through negligence or lack of understanding than through a desire to blot the record, and a disturbing number of these anecdotes end with the words of the heir, "Oh, don't worry about it; they weren't anything important, only personal letters."

In writing this comprehensive new biography of T. S. Eliot, Peter Ackroyd must often have felt frustrated, for the great caches of Eliot material are carefully preserved from destruction but denied to him, so that he was forbidden by the estate to quote from Eliot's published work or from his unpublished correspondence or work. Even those let-

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ters still owned by their recipients or their heirs could not be quoted, although there was apparently no legal bar to reading and paraphrasing them.

The reason the Trustee (Mrs. Eliot) and those acting on her behalf refuse permission to use the material is that she will be publishing her own edition of his correspondence, and that it would slow up publication if others got in the way. She has been consistently helpful to hundreds of "scholars" who write to her each year, but it is naive to maintain that the owners of all archives have a moral duty to open their doors to any fledgling Ph.D. looking hungrily for a topic. It does seem reasonable, however, for exceptions to be made for responsible writers like Ackroyd, and it is hard to imagine any reason he should have been denied the right to quote the published works; a fee would be defensible but not a prohibition on the use of what is already easily available to the public.

One of the inevitable consequences of sequestration of the material is that for years there have been rumors of scandalous events in Eliot's life and mutterings about the evidence for them being laundered or destroyed. Ackroyd sensibly dismisses them and discounts the allegations and assumptions of John Peter, Robert Sencourt, and John Miller about Eliot's sexual life. Yet, in the face of continued refusal to let any one see his papers, the rumors will probably continue to proliferate.

Far more damaging, finally, to Eliot's reputation than any reprehensible incident in his life could be is the charmless, rather pinched personality that emerges here. Probably fuller access to his correspondence and poetry would have shown us a warmer, more sympathetic man. Ackroyd has interviewed friends still living and has reported their memories scrupulously, but Eliot was more often concerned with his own image than with revelation of his feelings, so that the undocumented recollections don't go far to erase the impression of an impoverished psyche. Most persons I have known who were close to Eliot remember his intellect and his sharp wit, of a kind quite foreign to the pawky humor of Old Possum, but little of that wit comes through here, as it would probably do if his personal correspondence were available.

It would be misleading to give the impression that this is a dry book, for it is a lively study of a man who seems on the available evidence to have been short of juice. Ackroyd is such a skilful writer that he often overcomes the nature of his materials. In particular he brings to vivid life the sad story of Eliot's marriage to Vivienne Haig-Wood, without

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assigning blame for the whole humiliating thirty-two years, of which little more than a few months can have been completely happy. Vivienne Eliot was vivacious to the point of being frenetic, and she was deeply neurotic. Shortly after she married Eliot, Bertrand Russell described her as "Light, a little vulgar, adventurous." Eliot was hesitant, over-refined, and virginal. Disaster, which any one else could easily have predicted, inevitably overcame this mismated pair, for each brought out the least attractive aspects of the other. In his insistence on a Deed of Separation, in his refusal to see his wife thereafter, and in his avoidance of the mental hospital where she was confined, Eliot may have seemed callous, but he was acting out of self-preservation, for continued life with Vivienne might well have made him as unbalanced as she was.

There is less evident excuse for his treatment of others who were close to him. The letters deposited by Emily Hale in the Princeton Library cannot be opened until 2019, even for Mrs. Eliot, so it will probably be along time before we can understand Eliot's behavior to her. This charming New Englander seems to have fallen in love with him when they met in 1913; they were together frequently thereafter in both England and America, and she considered herself "unofficially engaged" to him (the phrase suggests the propriety of their relations) during the latter part of Vivienne's life. According to Ackroyd, his second marriage came as a "complete shock" to her. So it did to Mary Trevelyan as well. John Hayward, with whom he had shared a flat for eleven years, was not even told that Eliot was moving out until the morning of the marriage. This unexpected coldness in his behavior would perhaps be irrelevant were it not that it dovetails so neatly with the chilly tone of some of his poetry, where he seems to have confused impersonality with unconcern. One of the pleasant sections of this book is the description of the brief, roseate happiness of his second marriage, which was as unexpected to his friends as the misery of his first was predictable.

A recurrent theme is Eliot's deep need for order in his life, which some times gave him the appearance or rigidity, both personally and poetically. "He was a writer who attempted to create order and coherence, and yet his central vision was of 'the Void'. . . . His predilection for order, as well as his susceptibility to disorder, were immense and in the jarring, crushing equilibrium between the two his life and work were formed."

The unity of culture for which he sought was in part a projection of the integration of personality for which he looked with equal lack of

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success. Most of his friends noticed how many different "characters" seemed to exist within him, and V. S. Pritchett described him as "a company of actors inside one suit". The excellent illustrations show him playing a whole repertory of roles: sailor, *bon vivant*, Bloomsberry, country gentleman, publisher, theatrical director, smiling public man, even Benedick. One splendid snap taken outside Fabers shortly after he began working there looks as if he were trying out for the juvenile lead as a young publisher, complete with book in hand, tight double-breasted suit, bowler, stick, and spats. (Yes, spats.) All these pictures are united by the ingratiating, slightly anxious, self-conscious look of an actor who is not quite sure of his lines.

His progressive conservatism was an attempt to contain all the characters, as was his deliberate Anglicization of speech, manners, and appearance (Ackroyd seems not to know that when he could afford to do so, Eliot sent to this country to have his most "English" suits made, or that his favorite underwear was American B.V.D.s—with drop seat). There is a good deal of comedy as well as pathos in the mistakes he made while learning his parts in the drama he had written for himself. But it was his success at doing the cast "in differnt voices" that was responsible for much of his best poetry.

Ackroyd is a first-rate critic, and we naturally look forward to his treatment of the works of "the most substantial" poet of his day, who was certainly among the leading poets of the century; through no fault of his own the criticism seems thin, since he is reduced to paraphrase of the poems and plays without textual examples. This is nearly adequate in discussing the circumstances of their composition, but it is simply not enough when dealing with the finished works. (Curiously, the ban on quoting Eliot's words about his own works makes more apparent than usual how helpful more knowledge of intention—that favorite whipping-boy of contemporary critics—would be in understanding his poetry.)

I don't see how we could reasonably ask for a better biography than this until Eliot's papers are available. The feeling of the estate that they are not public property is completely understandable, even defensible, but it seems naive to believe that there will therefore be no more biographies except an "authorized" one. Since not all biographers are as scrupulous in their speculations as Peter Ackroyd, it may be worth considering that the rights of the estate and the posthumous reputation of the poet do not exert the same demands, and that their rights may even be diametrically opposed. Sequestration may ultimately be no

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wiser than wholesale destruction undertaken because "they weren't anything important, only personal letters."

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JOHN BURNETT, *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood Education and Family from the 1820s to the 1920s.* London: Allen Lane, 1982.

John Burnett's *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820s to the 1920s* is a good companion piece to David Vincent's *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Autobiography.* Both of these books cover the same ground: the childhood, family life and educational experiences and attempts at education by members of the working class in nineteenth century England. In his book, published one year before Burnett's, Vincent claimed that his purpose was two-fold. First, he hoped that his study would help historians to see not only how the working class lived during the industrial revolution, but also how they thought about their lives. Secondly, his book was to remind or inform historians of the existence of this source material. Burnett adds to Vincent's study by not only making readers aware of the existence of autobiographies, but by making extracts of such works readily available. Most of the autobiographies he examined were unpublished manuscripts; others had small, private runs and some were printed by societies that rarely promoted the work outside their membership or locale, so that even those works that were published did not reach a wide reading public and have been forgotten.

What is most valuable about Burnett's book are the extracts themselves. Although they are all short, usually not more than six pages, and frequently just whet the readers appetite for more, the book offers an easily accessible, introductory collection of nineteenth century autobiographies, like Burnett's *Useful Toil: Autobiographies of Working People from the 1820s to the 1920s.* That earlier collection emphasized occupation, and the extracts usually were detailed discussions of the work place and the tasks of the job. *Destiny Obscure* lets us see the private lives of similar people so that we have a fuller sense of what working-class life was like. However, do not assume that these extracts will appear confessional, full of emotional upheaval and traumatic experiences. As Burnett points out, many autobiographers mention their ear-

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liest memory and that the majority of those are unhappy and often traumatic, such as public hangings, near-drownings, family deaths, attacks by animals and other injuries. However, despite the sorrow and harshness of their early lives, the autobiographers write very laconic accounts. For example, Bill, the Anonymous Navvy, whose autobiographical extract appears in *Useful Toil,* simply states, "There was a wonderful large family of us—eleven was born but we died down to six." That is all he says about the deaths of five family members. Burnett reminds us that such matter-of-fact reports or fatalistic acceptance of God's will do not mean that the autobiographers felt nothing. "In reading these accounts we take a journey into largely unknown territory where feelings sometimes lie too deep for words, and where what is not said may be as significant as that which is." (p. 11)

Although the accounts are laconic, they are not brief and uninformative. The autobiographers frequently dwell on childhood at length and give detailed presentations of working-class life 1820–1920. It is amazing how these men and women can recall the homes of their childhood and describe each piece of furniture. Also, they describe in great detail every article of clothing they wore to school, every item of food served at family meals, and every book they read and usually how they managed to procure each copy. All this detailed recall emphasizes how difficult life was for these people; the scantiness of their belongings and the difficulty with which they were procured, made these items so important, that eighty years later, after many other houses, clothes, meals and books, they can remember in vivid detail their early childhood homes.

Burnett offers this wealth of detail to social historians and to the curious about the lives of the obscure. He directs little to those who study the genre of of autobiography. The essays that preface each of his three sections (on childhood, on education, and on family life) do little besides simply listing themes commonly found in these works, without much additional comment or speculation. That common themes do appear is as close as Burnett comes to mentioning any literary properites of these works. Too often these works have been relegated to the curious and to the historian, although autobiography is a literary genre. Perhaps some critic of autobiography also will note Burnett's book and bring these forgotten works to the attention of scholars, who will then examine their literary qualities.

The division of these extracts into three categories seems rather arbitrary. The first on childhood and the third on family life overlap because in childhood, the family life is central. It is interesting that the family the autobiographer describes is that of his parents and siblings,

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not that of his spouse and children. Although these selections are only extracts and we do not know what else the autobiographer chose to write about and it may seem that Burnett has selected only discussions of each autobiographer's early life, it is not misleading. An examination of entire autobiographies written by members of the working class will show that the autobiographers wrote in great domestic detail about their youth and in adulthood, they focused on their work rather than on home life. Therefore, because in both sections one and three, childhood and early family life are presented, it is hard to see what distinguishes these extracts and why those in section one do not appear in section three, or the reverse.

In the middle is a section on education. The opening essay by Burnett and the extracts themselves emphasize how important education was to these people. However, in this section, we read as much about the adult life as we do about childhood experiences in school, because most of the autobiographies were written by teachers. They very briefly mention their early schooling and then discuss much more fully their preparation for and experience in teaching. Although the change in perspective is somewhat startling, using autobiographies written by teachers provides a lot of information that no doubt would be missing from accounts of childhood memories and the discussions of training, the increasing scholarship available to the working class and the administration of schools all demonstrate how the profession and attitudes toward public education changed during the century. Also very important, especially for those living earlier in the century, were the attempts at self-education and the establishment of Sunday Schools. Burnett does not ignore these educational experiences outside the traditional classroom, but includes an extract by John Shinn, a self-taught music teacher and Robert Roberts's discussion of Welsh Sunday Schools.

The selection of autobiographies included in this collection seems open to question. Many of the manuscripts were written after World War II by people who were then living more comfortable middle-class lives. Also, Burnett included an autobiography by Laura Green-Price, the daughter of a lawyer who inherited a family manor and was eventually knighted. Nora Mabel Nye was born into an aristocratic family and had an easy childhood, although after her father's death, she was left poor and eventually married an Australian farmer. John Burnett justifies their inclusion and that of Stella Entwistle, a vicar's daughter because these authors are all obscure. The scarcity of autobiographies by working-class women makes it tempting to find ways to add to the small number by broadening the category. If Burnett had really

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intended to discuss the lives of the obscure, he then ought to have included more autobiographies written by members of the upper and middle classes, both males and females. As it is, the few autobiographical extracts written by women who grew up in more comfortable circumstances simply appear out of place.

Although this collection emphasizes the lives of the poor whose lives, we all know, were appallingly harsh, squalid and painful, the over-all impression is that although life was hard, it was also fun. At least from these extracts, the emphasis is on games, family outings and pleasant childhood memories. It is hard to decide how much of this rosiness is due to the fact that the autobiographies were written when these people were living in old age, made comfortable by government pensions and by children who were better-educated and working at better-paying jobs rather than being written while the authors were still struggling to find work, to feed large families and possibly to educate themselves without state or charitable help. Some of the autobiographers remained angry and bitter, such as Kate Taylor, one of fifteen children of a farm laborer, who tells of being beaten by the headmaster for refusing to rise and curtsey to Lady Thorhill when she passed by as Kate was scrubbing the doorstep of her home. Yet such anger and class antagonism seem rare, and the over-all impression seems nostalgic and sentimental. The extract that follows Kate Taylor's is by Fred Boughton, a miner's son, which seems more characteristic of this collection:

> The children in the Forest had a full life; there were plenty of games which cost nothing. The boys used to walk on stilts and play cat. Cat was a stick about the size of a brush handle, nine inches long with the two ends sharpened. You knocked it on the end and it flew in the air, sometimes 50 yards, and the furthest was the winner. The girls would swing on the trees, and sometimes skip for hours. They were happy in those days because they made their own pleasure. (pp. 296–7)

John Burnett's collection of extracts from the autobiographies of the obscure adds to our understanding of the social history of the period, familarizes us with works not readily available, and, I hope, may lend to more scholarship in this very interesting and rich genre so that besides knowing more about the furniture and children's games of the nineteenth century working class, we may also better understand the psychology and art behind these autobiographies.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

A NOTE OF APPRECIATION

The Editors of *Biography* wish to give belated recognition to the work of our former Assistant Bibliographer (1980) and Bibliographer (1981, 1982, 1983), Kathleen Bennett. Ms. Bennett graduated in 1980 magna cūm laude from the University of Massachusetts, where she was Phi Beta Kappa. She took her M.A. in Literature at Massachusetts and studied in the doctoral program at Boston University. She has also studied at Bread Loaf, Middlebury, Harvard, Worcester College (Oxford), Naropa Institute (Colorado), and UC Berkeley. Since 1971 she has been a teacher at Longmeadow High School in Massachusetts. She is currently studying the use and concept of the personal computer. Bibliographers seldom get the recognition they deserve. For four years Kathleen Bennett made signal contributions to the recognition *Biography* has received. Our thanks and best wishes.

NOTICE

MLA MEETING ON BIOGRAPHY & AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The MLA Biography and Autobiography Discussion Group topic for 1985 is on psychology and life-writing. Panelists and topics are Thomas Caramagno (Hawaii), "Rejecting the 'Neurotic Artist' Model of Virginia Woolf's Life and Work"; Gloria Sybil Gross (Cal State Northridge), "Samuel Johnson and Psychobiography"; Gregory Jay (South Carolina), "Freud and the Autobiography of Psychoanalysis." Respondent will be Ira Bruce Nadel (British Columbia). Specifics of date, place, and time are not available as we go to press but are in the MLA Program.

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Notes on Contributors

Robert H. Bell, professor of English at Williams College (Williamstown, MA 01267), has published numerous scholarly articles, reviews, and stories.

Dan P. McAdams, Dept. of Psychology, Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, IL 60626, has published articles on themes of intimacy and power in human lives across the life span, which have appeared in personality and developmental psychology journals. He is author of *Power, Intimacy, and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity.*

Ashton Nichols, Assistant Professor of English at Auburn University (Auburn University, AL 36849), is completing a study of the critical application of Joyce's concept of epiphany to the poets of the nineteenth century. He has recently published articles in *The Wordsworth Circle* and *Browning Institute Studies.*

Michael Slackman, historian at the USS *Arizona* Memorial, Honolulu, Hawaii 96818, and Assistant Editor of *Biography,* is the author of *Remembering Pearl Harbor.* He is currently engaged in preparing a study of the Pearl Harbor attack.

Phyllis E. Wachter (Warwick #604, 17th and Locust, Philadelphia, PA 19103), received her doctorate in literature from Temple University. She developed her interest in biography while researching the life and works of Ethel M. Arnold from letters and diaries at Pusey House in Oxford on a grant from the University of Tulsa's Women's Studies Institute. Dr. Wachter is currently working on the letters of Vernon Lee at Somerville College, Oxford.

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